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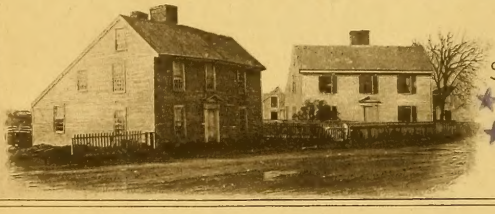

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THE

WORKS

OF

NICHOLAS MACHIAVEL.

VOL. I.

J. Collyer sculp. 1772.

THE WORKS OF NICHOLAS MACHIAVEL,

Secretary of State to the Republic of FLORENCE.

Tranſlated from the ORIGINALS;

ILLUSTRATED WITH

NOTES, ANNOTATIONS, DISSERTATIONS,

And ſeveral New Plans on the ART of WAR,

By ELLIS FARNEWORTH, M. A.

Late Vicar of Roſthern in CHESHIRE,

Tranſlator of the Life of POPE SIXTUS V. and DAVILLA's Hiſtory of the Civil Wars of FRANCE.

THE SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

5591
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LONDON,

Printed for T. DAVIES, Ruſſel-Street, Covent-Garden; J. DODSLEY, Pall-Mall; J. ROBSON, New Bond-Street; G. ROBINSON, Paternoſter-Row; T. BECKET, T. CADELL, and T. EVANS, Strand.

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SOME

ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIFE of NICHOLAS MACHIAVEL.

THOUGH writers in general afford but very ſcanty materials to the Biographer, yet it might have reaſonably been expected, that Machiavel would have proved an exception to this obſervation; for, excluſive of his active ſpirit and the perpetual agitations his country laboured under at that period, he was frequently employed in public characters, and conſequently became, in ſome degree connected with the hiſtory of thoſe times.

His fame alſo as a writer of extraordinary abilities, which was never called in

queſtion till ſeveral years after his death, might have induced ſome perſon of the ſucceeding generation to collect the memoirs of his life, a circumſtance that has fallen to the lot of many authors of inferior genius. But either the confuſions of the times, and the little attention paid to literary merit, or the calumnies which ſome years after his death were thrown upon his character and writings by ſeveral religious Orders, have deprived him of this honour. Even his cotemporary Paulus Jovius, that profeſſed collector of anecdotes, has given himſelf no trouble on this ſubject, and records little more than the falſehoods and invectives of the Eccleſiaſtics.

Niccolo Machiavelli, the ſon of Bernardo, and Bartolomea the daughter of Stefano Nelli, was born at Florence the 3d of May, 1469; both his parents were deſcended from noble families, who had filled with dignity the firſt offices in the ſtate; and as his father followed the profeſſion of the law, it

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is probable that he intended his ſon for the ſame employment. But as young minds are frequently captivated with the ſplendor of a military life, and as the profeſſion of arms at that period was attended with great honours and emoluments, princes becoming frequently tributary to generals and partizans, it is ſomewhat more than probable that he ſpent his earlier years in the field, where he acquired that profound knowledge in the art of war, which he has diſplayed in his very ingenious treatiſe on that ſubject. We may alſo conjecture that his poems and plays were ſome of his firſt productions; and alſo the Marriage of Belphegor, which, in point of ſtyle, humour, and invention, is eſteemed at leaſt equal to any of the novels of Boccace, and is a proof of his powers in this ſpecies of writing. His comedies are very elegant, the language pure, and the dialogue ſpirited; but the many indecencies they contain, is a great abatement of their merit: they were, however, frequently exhibited,

and even at Rome by the particular command of the pope, which is a ſtrong proof of the corrupt taſte of the age. It is very probable that the liberty our author took with the Eccleſiaſtics in his play called *Il Frati*, was in a great meaſure the occaſion of that virulent perſecution his works fell under ſeveral years after his deceaſe, and which terminated in the condemnation of his *Prince* in 1592.

His poetical performances are haſty incorrect compoſitions, but interſperſed with many ſtrokes of genius.

The diſſenſions which the republic of Florence at this time laboured under, rendered it no difficult matter for a perſon of Machiavel's parts and active ſpirit to advance himſelf in the ſtate; accordingly we find him, in 1502, employed in an embaſſy to duke Vaventine; and it is a ſtrong proof of his great penetration and abilities, that he con-

conducted his negociations both to the approbation of the factious Florentines, and alſo that of Cæſar Borgia, the moſt baſe and inſidious man of that age. Our author has been cenſured for having an intimate connection with this prince, and for being a friend to his principles and deſigns; but his letters, during this employ, ſufficiently clear his character from theſe inſinuations, and prove him to have been ſuperior even to the artifices of Borgia.

In 1503 he was ſent in a public character to the court of Rome, in which he conducted himſelf with great addreſs, and his letters on this ſubject are looked upon as fine models for public buſineſs. In this year he was alſo ſecretary to the council of ſtate, and conveyed their inſtructions to Tebalducci Maleſpini, commiſſary of the Florentine troops employed againſt Piſa.

In 1504 he went ambaſſador to the court of France.

In

In 1505 he was ſent by the republic to ſolicit Gianpaolo Baglioni to take upon him the command of their troops which had been defeated by the Piſans in the preceding campaign.

In 1506 the republic ſent him ambaſſador to Rome, and he attended Julius the Second, in his expedition againſt Perugia and Bologna.

In the years 1510 and 1511 we find him in the office of ſecretary of ſtate, in which he acquits himſelf with great elegance and preciſion; and his letters, during this employment, ſhew his diſpoſition in a very different point of view from that which is collected from his political writings; for he here appears to be a perſon of the utmoſt candour, moderation, and integrity of heart.

From the above period to his death he was probably out of favour with the reigning faction in the ſtate; and, retiring from

public

public life, employed himſelf in writing the Hiſtory of Florence, the Prince, and the Political Diſſertations on the Firſt Decad of Livy, which remain laſting monuments of his abilities.

In the Hiſtory of Florence, his violent antipathy to a monarchical government is ſuppoſed to have induced him ſometimes to ſwerve from truth; and thoſe diabolical maxims which have been ſo frequently and ſo juſtly cenſured in his Prince, undoubtedly had their origin from the ſame powerful principle, and ought to be conſidered rather as an exaggerated portrait of the princes of that age, and as an incitement to his countrymen to be zealous in the defence of their liberty, than as a ſyſtem of policy for the inſtruction of future princes.

His Political Diſcourſes are the moſt correct and elegant of his works; and though they contain ſome exceptionable paſſages, yet they

they abound with deep reſearches and moſt excellent inſtructions.

Though our author was one of the firſt perſons of the age both in literary and political acquirements; and though he was frequently employed in conſiderable departments in the ſtate, yet he neither met with the countenance and ſupport of the great, nor received any conſiderable reward for his ſervices, of which he very pathetically complains in one of his dedications. He died in very low circumſtances, July 22, 1527, in the 58th year of his age.

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THE

TRANSLATOR's PREFACE.

THE generality of Readers, eſpecially thoſe of a volatile turn, are apt to overlook Prefaces, as nothing more than lumber and rubbiſh; or at beſt, but as Offices and Out-houſes to the main Fabrick: and perhaps, if any ſhould by chance caſt their eyes over this, they may ſee no great reaſon to alter their opinion. There are ſome other prefatory Diſcourſes, however, at the head of the ſeveral parts of this work, collected and tranſlated from different writers and languages, which are not only very curious and intereſting, but abſolutely neceſſary to be read by thoſe that would have a clear comprehenſion of the enſuing Treatiſes; and as ſuch, the Editor begs leave to recommend them to peruſal of every one deſirous to be thoroughly acquainted with the ſcope and tenour of Machiavel's writings. A ſhort Preamble, therefore, and that chiefly relative to the execution of this, and ſome other Engliſh verſions of his Works, may ſuffice at preſent.

In the year 1588, his ſeven Books of *the Art of War* were *ſet forth in Engliſh* (as the Tranſlator calls it) by one Peter Withorne, or Whitehorne, who ſtyles himſelf *a Student at Gray's Inn:* a ſample of which performance is prefixed to the beginning of thoſe Dialogues in the fourth Volume of this Tranſlation; and

and therefore, it is not neceſſary to ſay any more of it in this place, than that there is not ſo much as one Note throughout the whole, nor any Plan that is intelligible; and that the language is ſo obſolete, that nobody can now form any judgment whether it was well or ill tranſlated, after making all reaſonable allowances for the Idiom of the times.

The next piece that is neceſſary to be mentioned here, is *a Tranſlation of the Political Diſcourſes upon Livy, by E. Dacres, printed at London, in the year* 1636; in which there is here and there a Note, though ſeldom much to the purpoſe: the moſt pertinent of them are inſerted in this verſion, and ſet down in their reſpective places to the Author's account. But as there was an interval of no more than forty-eight years betwixt the publication of this piece, and the other juſt now mentioned, there ſeems to have been but little improvement made in our language, during that period; to ſay nothing of its other defects.

For the ſame reaſon, much more cannot be ſaid in this reſpect, (though ſomething indeed) in behalf of an Engliſh Tranſlation of all Machiavel's proſe writings, firſt publiſhed at London, in the year 1675; which was afterwards reprinted in 1680, and again in 1694, without the leaſt alteration or amendment (though full of errors and other faults) and without any body's name to it. At the concluſion of it, there is a Letter addreſſed to Zanobi

Zanobi Buondelmonte, ſaid to be written by Machiavel himſelf, in vindication of his writings and principles; which is a moſt bitter invective againſt the Clergy, and at the ſame time, a bold ſtroke at Monarchy: but as it is not to be met with, either in any Italian Edition of his works, or foreign tranſlation of them, and ſeems not only to be of more modern date, but calculated by ſome atrabilair writer, to ſerve certain particular purpoſes in the laſt century, one may juſtly be allowed, I think, to reject it. Upon which account, it is omitted in this verſion: for in a Performance, intituled, *A Tranſlation of Machiavel's Works*, it muſt have been a ſhameleſs thing to inſert a Piece as tranſlated from Machiavel, by a perſon who never ſaw the Original himſelf, nor never heard of any other man that did.

But to ſpeak a little more particularly of the Tranſlation of all Machiavel's proſe works, juſt now ſaid to be firſt publiſhed at London in the year 1675. The language in general, is poor and jejune, full of vulgariſms, quaint ſayings, and what the Italians call *il modo baſſo*, or low-life expreſſion. But that is not the worſt of it: for the meaning of the Author is very often groſsly miſtaken; of which the Reader may take the following inſtances in the Hiſtory of Florence, out of numberleſs others in every part of the work. In the ſecond book of that Hiſtory, the Author ſays, "I Fiorentini dopo queſta rotta Sforzarono le loro torri all intorno, et il Re Robert

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Mando per loro Capitano il Conte di Andria, detto il Conte Novello; per i portamenti del quale, overo perche ſia naturale a i Fiorentini *che ogni ſtato rincreſca*, & ogni accidente divida, la Citta, non oſtante la guerra haveva con Huguccione, in amici & nemici del Re ſi diviſe:" which the old Engliſh Tranſlator has erroneouſly rendered in this manner. "After this diſaſter, the Florentines fortified at home as much as they could, and King Robert ſent them a new General, called Count di Andrea, with the Title of Count Novello. By his deportment (or rather by the genius of the Florentines, whoſe property it is *to increaſe* upon every ſettlement, and to fall afterwards into factions upon every accident) notwithſtanding their preſent war with Uguccione, they divided again, and ſome were for King Robert, and ſome againſt him." But ſurely it might have been more properly thus tranſlated. "After this overthrow, the Florentines began to fortify all the towns and caſtles round about them, and applied to King Robert for another General: upon which he ſent them the Count di Andria, commonly called Count Novello; whoſe behaviour, added to the impatient temper of the Florentines (which is *ſoon tired* of any form of government, and ready to fall into factions upon every accident) occaſioned the City to divide again, notwithſtanding the war they were engaged in with Huguccione: ſome declared for King Robert, and ſome againſt him."

Again,

Again, in the fourth Book, Machiavel ſays, "A chi ricorreranno eglino ora per aiuto? A Papa Martino, ſtato a contemplazione di Braccio ſtraziato da loro?" "To whom (ſays the old Tranſlator) will they now addreſs for ſupplies? To Pope Martin? *Braccio can be witneſs* how they uſed him before." Which ſhould have been rendered in this manner, or ſomething like it: "To whom will they now have recourſe for aſſiſtance? To Pope Martin, whom they have ſo vilely abuſed, only to gratify Braccio da Montone?" *A contemplazione* being an Italian phraſe, which ſignifies *for the pleaſure, gratification, or ſatisfaction of any one; on account of, or in conſideration of ſuch a perſon or thing.*

The laſt inſtance I ſhall quote, is, from the ſeventh Book of the ſame Hiſtory, where the following paſſage occurs. "Carlo Viſconte, perche s' era poſto piu propinquo alla porta, & eſſendogli il Duca paſſato avanti, quando da i Compagni fu aſſalito, non lo potette ferire d'avanti; ma con duoi colpi *la Schiena* & la ſpalla gli trafiſſe:" which is thus tranſlated, "Carlo Viſconte being placed nearer the door, the duke was paſt him before he was aſſaulted, and therefore he could not ſtrike him *before he was dead: howevēr, he muſt do his part,* and with *a Schine* gave him two deep wounds upon his ſhoulder." Now, what in the name of wonder is *a Schine?* one would be apt to think it was ſome dreadful murdering wea-

pon like a Butcher's Cleaver, or ſomething of that kind. Tremble not, gentle Reader, it is no ſuch matter. Indeed, I believe it is nothing at all: for the word *Schine* is not to be found in any Dictionary. The meaning is plainly this: "Carlo Viſconte, who ſtood nearer the door, and by whom the Duke had paſſed before he was attacked by his accomplices, not having an opportunity of ſtriking him *in the fore part of his body*, gave him a ſtab *in the back*, and another in the ſhoulder." Miſtakes and unwarrantable liberties of this ſort, are to be met with in almoſt every page: ſo that it would be not only an endleſs but unneceſſary taſk to collect them; as any Reader muſt be pretty well ſatisfied already with theſe ſpecimens.

In the preſent Tranſlation, the Editor may truly ſay, that no pains have been ſpared to make it acceptable to the Public: for which reaſon, he is not altogether without hope it will be looked upon with candour. The ſtyle of the Author, indeed, (notwithſtanding the encomiums which have been beſtowed upon him in that reſpect by ſome writers) is generally ſhort, broken, ſententious, and difficult to connect in common periods: his tranſitions are ſudden; his meaning often deep, abſtruſe, and intricate; his argumentation cloſe and ſevere. But great care has been taken to elucidate his meaning, to explain dark and difficult paſſages, to connect his periods, and to give

give his arguments their full ſcope by the addition of Notes, Diſſertations, and Plans, where they ſeemed neceſſary; as well as of ſeveral other pieces tranſlated from different languages, and never before publiſhed in the Engliſh tongue; of which ſome mention has been already made: and if the Tranſlator has now and then indulged himſelf in a moderate and reaſonable uſe of circumlocution, it is hoped it will be excuſed; ſince it would otherwiſe have been impoſſible to do the author juſtice.

As to the further merit, or demerit of the Author, little needs to be added here: the Reader will find what has been ſaid both for and againſt his Writings, fairly and impartially laid before him elſewhere, and is left to judge for himſelf. Nothing has been either palliated or aggravated: it is true, where his Principles are liable to exception (as in ſome places they certainly either are, or at leaſt ſeem to be ſo), they have been combatted *pro virili*, and an antidote attempted for the poiſon: in others, where he is blamed, though not juſtly blameable, his Character has been vindicated. Much cenſure, indeed, and great applauſe, have been, and ſtill are, beſtowed upon him; which (how much ſoever they may tend to influence the living) can have no effect upon one who has now been dead above two Centuries, and far out of *the uncertain ſound* of both trumpets. His Tranſlator, who is ſtill within

diſtance, and ſubject to human feelings, does not pretend to be indifferent to either: and though he is ſenſible how ſlender a title he has to one, he would willingly, if poſſible, eſcape the other.

1762.

MACHI-

MACHIAVEL's DEDICATORY EPISTLE TO POPE CLEMENT VII.*

HOLY FATHER,

AS your Holineſs was pleaſed to lay your commands upon me, to write a Hiſtory of Florence, long before your Exaltation to the Pontificate, I accordingly applied myſelf

* This Pontif, whoſe Name was Julio de' Medici, was ſon to Juliano, killed at Florence, by the Pazzi, in 1478. *See Book* VIII. *of this Hiſtory*. He was a Knight of Rhodes, afterwards made Cardinal by his Uncle, Leo X. and ſucceeded Adrian VI. in 1523. His Pontificate was diſtinguiſhed by ſeveral conſiderable Events. All Germany was divided about the new Doctrine preached by Martin Luther; and Clement, dreading the power of Charles V. having entered into a league with the French and Venetians, wrote in very haughty terms to that Emperor, who anſwered him in the ſame ſtyle. But the Colonni, who were of the Imperial party, riſing againſt the Pope, cited his Holineſs to appear before a general Council, which Charles intended to call at Spire, and forced him to retire into the Caſtle of St. Angelo, in 1526. The next year, Charles of Bourbon, the Em-

to it with the utmoſt care and attention, and with all the abilities which Nature and Experience have afforded me, that I might ſhew my readineſs to obey you in every thing. But after I had brought it down to the time when the death of the illuſtrious Lorenzo de' Medici gave a new turn to the affairs of Italy, and found the Events which afterwards happened, grew ſo intereſting and important, that they de-

peror's General, took and plundered Rome, and obliged the Pope to pay 400,000 Ducats for his ranſom; to raiſe which, all the veſſels of gold and ſilver that belonged to the Churches were melted down and coined, and the vacant Cardinal's Hats ſold by public Auction. Beſides other conceſſions, it was likewiſe agreed, that his Holineſs, and thirteen Cardinals, ſhould remain priſoners in the Caſtle, where they were to be confined till the money was paid, and afterwards go to Naples, or Gaieta, till the Emperor's further pleaſure was known. In the year 1529, he made a peace with that Emperor, by a marriage betwixt Alexander de' Medici, created Duke of Tuſcany, and Margaret, Charles's natural daughter; which alliance was afterwards confirmed by the marriage of Catherine de' Medici to Henry II. King of France. During theſe tranſactions, Henry VIII. of England, divorced his Wife, Catharine of Auſtria, and was excommunicated by Clement for ſo doing: upon which, he declared himſelf *Head of the Church in his own dominions*, and promoted the Reformation, which he had, till then, oppoſed. *Platina, continued by Sir Paul Ricaut.* It was ſaid of this Pope, whilſt he was in priſon, *Papa non poteſt errare.* Though Machiavel was much eſteemed by him, he at laſt incurred his heavy diſpleaſure, on a ſuſpicion of being engaged with the Soderini in a conſpiracy againſt him; concerning which, the Reader will meet with ſome other anecdotes in the courſe of this work.

ſerved to be related in a higher ſtyle, and more ſpirited manner, I reſolved to preſent what I had already digeſted, in one Volume, at your Holineſs's feet; that ſo you might have a taſte at leaſt of the fruit which you yourſelf planted, and an earneſt of my endeavours to bring it to maturity.

In the peruſal of it, your Holineſs will ſee to what havock and diſtractions our Country was expoſed for many ages after the declenſion of the Roman Empire in the Weſt; how often it varied its form of government; and to how many different People and Princes it became ſubject. You will ſee how the Popes, your Predeceſſors, the Venetians, the Sovereigns of Naples, and the Dukes of Milan, by turns came to bear the chief rule in this Province. You will ſee your native City, after it had ſhaken off the yoke of the Emperors, labouring under continual diſcords and civil diſſenſions, till the government of it happily fell into the hands of your family.

But as your Holineſs (equally deſpiſing flattery, and eſteeming juſt praiſe) ſtrictly enjoined me to avoid all kind of Adulation, when at any time I ſhould have occaſion to mention the names of your Anceſtors, I am afraid I ſhall ſeem to have tranſgreſſed that command, when I extol the virtue and liberality of Giovanni, the prudence of Coſimo, the affability of Pietro, the magnifi-

cence and wiſdom of Lorenzo de' Medici. For which, and all other paſſages that may appear in any wiſe fulſom or offenſive, in the courſe of this work, I moſt humbly intreat your Holineſs to admit my Apology, when I ſay, that it was not poſſible to avoid it. For as I found all the Memoirs of thoſe times full of their merit and praiſes, I ſhould juſtly be accuſed either of deviating from truth, if I repreſented them in any other light, or of extreme envy if I paſſed them over in ſilence. And if there was any private or ambitious view concealed under their glorious endeavours to ſerve their Country, as ſome have not ſcrupled to hint, I do not think myſelf at liberty to ſay ſo; as that has not appeared to me. Indeed, it may eaſily be perceived, that in all other parts of this Hiſtory, I have never endeavoured to throw a veil of Honeſty over a foul deed, nor to calumniate any one that was worthy of praiſe, by meanly inſinuating that it was done to ſerve ſome vile purpoſe. How little I have been guilty of flattering any one, will more particularly appear in the ſpeeches and harangues to the public, and in my private reflections and obſervations; which are always delivered without reſtraint or reſerve, and in a manner conſiſtent with the actions, character, and temper of the perſon that ſpeaks, or is ſpoken of: and I have at the ſame

time ſtudiouſly endeavoured to avoid all odious names of diſtinction and party difference, as unbecoming the dignity of Hiſtory, and of very ſmall account in the ſupport of truth.

No one certainly, therefore, who reads this hiſtory with candour, will upbraid me as a Sycophant and Time-ſerver; eſpecially when he finds that I have made but little mention of your Father: for, indeed, he was ſnatched away from us at ſo immature an age, and when his Reputation was but juſt beginning to ſpread itſelf amongſt mankind, that I might otherwiſe have been thought too partial to his Virtues. Nevertheleſs, if he had had nothing elſe to boaſt of, the Glory alone of having given your Holineſs to the world, is ſufficient to balance all the ſplendid actions of his Anceſtors, and will add many more ages of Fame to his memory, than the malevolence of his Deſtiny ſo enviouſly cut off years from his Life.

I have endeavoured, Holy Father, as much as I could (without doing violence to truth), to ſay nothing that might offend any one; and yet perhaps I have pleaſed no one. And, indeed, I ſhall not be at all ſurpriſed, if that ſhould be the caſe: ſince it is almoſt impoſſible for a man to write a Hiſtory of his own times, without giving offence to many. However, I come boldly into the Field: for as I have been honoured with your Countenance, and

and preferred by your Bounty, I am not without hope, that I ſhall likewiſe find ſhelter under the ſanction of your favourable opinion and great wiſdom. In this confidence I ſhall purſue my Undertaking with the ſame ſpirit and alacrity that I have proceeded thus far, if life and health continue, and your Holineſs ſtill vouchſafes to ſupport me with your protection.

ADVER-

ADVERTISEMENT to the READER,

Concerning the Hiſtory of FLORENCE.

From the French Tranſlation, publiſhed at the Hague, 1743*.

AS the bare title of *The Hiſtory of Florence* may appear a little dry at firſt ſight, to thoſe that are not acquainted with its merit, it ſeems neceſſary in ſome meaſure to premiſe, that the intereſts and concerns of that Republic were ſo intimately connected and interwoven with thoſe of the reſt of Italy, that it was impoſſible to ſpeak of one, without frequent mention of the other. For here we ſhall find many things that relate to the Popes, the Republic of Venice, the Dutchy of Milan, and ſeveral other conſiderable States; which altogether make almoſt a complete Hiſtory of Italy, during a period that has not had much light thrown upon it, though very fertile in remarkable events.

With regard to Florence alone, the Reader would have no occaſion to complain of being neither improved nor entertained by the Hiſ-

* There had been ſeveral Editions of this French Tranſlation before. The Tranſlator's name was Tetard, a French Refugee and Phyſician at the Hague. He was a native of Blois, and of the Family of Monſieur Tetard, a Miniſter there, who made a good deal of noiſe in the French Synods, at the time of the Controverſy concerning *Univerſal Grace*, at Saumur.

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tory of it, if he met with nothing more than a detail of the conduct by which the Houſe of Medici, from a mercantile condition, at laſt exalted itſelf to ſovereign grandeur and authority.

But there are many other admirable Leſſons to be learnt from it, which may be of great uſe to ſuch as are called to the government of Republics. They will ſee what means are moſt expedient to preſerve the Liberties of a free State, and to fruſtrate the attempts of Ambition to ſubvert them. They will find thoſe wiles expoſed to the world, which deſigning men have practiſed for that purpoſe: and this may be ſo far of uſe as to deter others from treading in the ſame Steps, when they perceive, that the Mine is already ſprung, and theſe dangerous Artifices now clearly ſeen through by every one. They will learn from the proceedings of the Florentines, to judge of the views and inclinations by which the ſeveral degrees of mankind are actuated. For as the government of their City was ſucceſſively in the hands of the Grandees, the Nobility, the Commoners, and the Plebeians, the predominant paſſion of every one of theſe different Governors will plainly appear to be the ſame; and that whatſoever may be the rank or condition of thoſe that are at the helm of ſuch States, the form of Government will always degenerate into inſupportable Tyranny, if they are not reſtrained by good Laws, and

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thoſe Laws maintained in their full force and vigour.

As the Author abounds with political reaſonings and reflections in all his other works, he has not been ſparing of them in this, eſpecially in his Harangues; of which there are many that may ſerve for excellent models, in the like circumſtances, to ſuch as are employed in the adminiſtration of public affairs, and have ſometimes occaſion to avail themſelves of Eloquence in moving the paſſions and affections of men. And though this Hiſtory may poſſibly be thought too limited and circumſcribed by particular perſons, the very name of Machiavel will ſtill be ſufficient to recommend it to the notice and eſteem of the public. Great Maſters always ſtamp ſuch marks of Genius upon their works, as diſtinguiſh them from all others: and if the Facts that are related in this, ſhould not be deemed ſufficiently intereſting to any other people on this ſide the Alps, yet the judicious manner in which they are collected and digeſted, by a man who ſo well knew how both to chuſe himſelf, and point out to others, what was moſt uſeful and worthy of obſervation in Hiſtory, will always make it appear in a reſpectable light.

Whoſoever then ſhall carefully and attentively read the preſent, which relates the Tranſactions of a wiſe and perſpicacious people, may reap as much advantage from it, in my opinion, as from almoſt any other whatſoever.

ſoever. But as to ſuch as reliſh no ſort of Books, except thoſe in which a quarter of the world at leaſt, is dragged upon the theatre at one time, they may better amuſe themſelves, if they pleaſe, with reading Gazettes, or Abridgements of Chronology, where ſudden Revolutions and Downfalls of great Empires, and ſuch aſtoniſhing Events, occur in every page: from which they will receive juſt as much ſatisfaction and improvement as thoſe ignorant people who ſit wondering at the ſtrange geſture of puppets upon a ſtage (as well they may), whilſt they know nothing of the ſecret ſprings that put them in motion. Our author, indeed, is not altogether ſo ſententious as Cornelius Tacitus; but yet he enters ſo deep into matters of fact, and lays open the remote cauſes of them with ſo much perſpicuity, that the Reader himſelf will naturally draw proper concluſions. And perhaps this may be the better way of the two to form the judgment: for ſuch remarks and reflections as ſeem to be the reſult of our own reaſoning, commonly pleaſe us more, and make a deeper impreſſion, than thoſe that are obtruded upon us by others.

There may be ſome, perhaps, who will think many circumſtances in this Hiſtory might have been omitted, as trifling or ſuperfluous. But every one is not capable of diſtinguiſhing what are the moſt proper materials for ſuch a compoſition; and thoſe that

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really are, will pay great deference to the Judgment of an Author, whoſe Abilities and Underſtanding at leaſt have never been called in queſtion. Others, very likely, who are ready to allow him theſe endowments, will not ſo eaſily be prevailed upon, to make the ſame conceſſions in regard to the goodneſs of his heart: but as the Reader will find that Matter more amply diſcuſſed in the Preface to his Political Diſcourſes, and other detached Pieces of this Work, let it ſuffice at preſent, to give a remarkable proof of his integrity and love of truth, in ſpeaking ſo boldly of the Pontifs, through the whole courſe of a Hiſtory, dedicated to one of the moſt powerful of them, who was of the Houſe of Medici too, and had been his great Patron and Benefactor. For, not content with relating many of thoſe horrible truths with which the Lives of the Popes abound, he ſays, in his firſt Book, after a recital of the miſeries and diſtractions his Country had already groaned under, "that all the wars which Foreigners afterwards made upon Italy, were chiefly owing to the Popes, and moſt of the ſeveral inundations of Barbarians that poured themſelves into it, in a great meaſure occaſioned by their incitement and inſtigation: which practices being continued *even to this time*, have ſo long kept, and ſtill keep Italy weak and divided." This was but an aukward manner, ſome may think, of paying court to ſuch a Pontif as Clement

ment VII. and eſpecially in ſo great a Politician as Machiavel. Even our common Parochial Clergy of Paris, would have behaved with more politeneſs. They ſay finer and handſomer things in their addreſſes to their Archbiſhop, than perhaps they would do to Our Saviour himſelf, and his holy Apoſtles, if they were now upon earth.

What I would infer from this Stricture is, that a Man, who dares to ſpeak the whole truth in ſuch delicate circumſtances, cannot be ſuſpected of either ſuppreſſing or diſguiſing it upon any other occaſion, out of puſillanimity or private intereſt: ſo that how deficient ſoever he may appear to ſome people as a Courtier, he certainly deſerves great applauſe from every one, as an Hiſtorian who has written with ſtrict impartiality and regard to truth.

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AUTHOR's INTRODUCTION.

WHEN I first resolved to write the History and Transactions of the Florentines, both at home and abroad, it was my design to have begun with the Year 1434, at which time the Family of Medici, by the merits of Cosimo, and his father Giovanni, had acquired a greater degree of authority than any other in Florence; imagining that * Leo-

* Leonardo Aretino was one of the most learned men of the fifteenth Century, and the restorer of the Greek Tongue in Italy. Pope Innocent VII. made him Secretary of the Briefs, merely on account of his merit: which office he discharged with great credit, during the Reign of that Pontif, and the four next. He attended Pope John XXIII. at the Council of Constance, in 1413, and was afterwards Secretary, or, as some say, Chancellor to the Republic ef Florence, by which he amassed great riches. A catalogue of the books he wrote, which were many, may be seen in Gesner's *Bibliotheca*, and in Baretti's *Italian Library*, a very useful work, published by the Author at London, in 1757; in which he says, it was reported, that this Leonardo had found a *piece* of Tully, intituled, *De Gloria*, that he made use of it in some of his Latin works, and then destroyed it. The Florentines were so pleased with his History of Florence, that when he died, they buried him with a chaplet of laurel round his head, and a copy of that book laid upon his breast. There is still a marble monument to be seen over his grave, in the Church di Santa Croce at Florence. It is said, that a copy of his Letters was found some years ago amongst the manuscripts of the public Library at Oxford, in which there are forty that have never yet been printed. He died at the age of seventy-four, in the year 1444. The inscription upon his mo-

nardo d'Arezzo, and Marco Poggio *, two excellent Hiſtorians, had given a particular ac-

nument does him great honour. It is as follows: "Since the death of Leonardo, Hiſtory is in mourning, Eloquence is become mute, the Greek and Latin Muſes are in tears." *Mabillon Iter. Ital.* p. 165. *L'Enfant's Poggiana*, tom. i. p. 11.

* Some call him Bracciolino, or Brandolino Poggio. He was ſecretary to Pope Eugenius IV. Nicholas V. and ſix other Popes, as he himſelf ſays. From Rome he was recalled to Florence, at the age of ſeventy-four, to ſucceed his friend, Leonardo, in the office of Chancellor to that republic. He had been very intimately acquainted with him during his life, and wrote a critique upon his works. His learning was conſiderable, but his genius ſatirical, as appears from his invectives againſt Laurentius Valla, and his Hiſtory of Florence is not looked upon to be either candid or exact. Whilſt he attended the Council at Conſtance, he and Mabillon (as the latter ſays in his *Muſæum Italicum*, tom. i. part. i. p. 211.) diſcovered ſeveral old manuſcripts, in the Abbey of St. Gall, about twenty miles from that City, and particularly a perfect one of Quintilian's works; the news of which was received with great pleaſure by the *Literati*, as they had no complete copy before. Though it is ſaid, there is one in the Bodleian Library above 500 years old, and ſeveral of very ancient date in the French King's. In his travels through Germany, he tranſcribed the books of Tully *De Finibus & de Legibus*, which had not been ſeen in Italy before that time. Many other works he publiſhed; and died in the year 1450, at the age of eighty.

It is ſaid, this Poggio ſold a Manuſcript of Livy's works, very fairly tranſcribed with his own hand, for 120 crowns, to the celebrated Panormita, Secretary to Alphonſo, King of Naples. Upon which, the Secretary, in a letter to his Majeſty, ſays, "I intreat you, of your great wiſdom, to let me know, whether Poggio or I act the more prudent part; he in diſpoſing of Livy, to purchaſe a farm near Florence, or I, who ſell an Eſtate to buy that author, in his hand-writing. Your goodneſs and modeſty encourage me to aſk you this familiar queſtion." *Gallois traite des Bibliotheques*, p. 154, 155. This Alphonſo was a lover of Letters, and gave Poggio a large ſum of money for a tranſlation of Xenophon's Cyropædia.

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count of all the events which happened before that period. But afterwards, having carefully perufed their writings, to fee in what method and order they had proceeded, that fo I might recommend my own by imitating them, I found they had been very accurate indeed in their relation of the wars which the Florentines had been engaged in with foreign Princes and States: but that they were either totally filent concerning their civil diffenfions and domeftic animofities, and the confequences of them, or had touched upon them in fo curfory and fuperficial a manner, that the Reader was neither in the leaft profited nor entertained by it; which, I fuppofe, they did, either becaufe they thought thofe occurrences rather trifling and infignificant, than worthy of being recorded; or out of fear of offending the defcendants of fuch as they fhould have been otherwife obliged to mention with difhonour. Both which reafons, if I may be allowed to fay fo without offence, feem to be altogether unworthy of fo great men. For whatfoever is either inftructive or entertaining in hiftory, principally refults from a clear and circumftantial narration of Facts. If any reading can be of fervice to fuch as govern Republics, it muft be that chiefly which lays open the firft caufes of difcord and divifions in them; by which they may grow wife at the expence of others, and learn to preferve peace and unanimity at home: if examples drawn

from foreign communities are apt to affect mankind in ſome degree, ſurely thoſe that are deduced from their own, muſt naturally be more uſeful and make a deeper impreſſion; and if the Factions that ever exiſted in any State, were worthy of notice, it is certain, thoſe that have diſtracted Florence are ſtill much more ſo. For whereas moſt others that we know any thing of, have only been divided into two, which have ſometimes added ſtrength to, and ſometimes been the deſtruction of them, that City has been ſubject to many. In Rome, as every one knows, there aroſe a conteſt betwixt the Patricians and Plebeians, after the expulſion of their Kings, which continued till the utter diſſolution of that Republic. The ſame happened at Athens, and in all the other Common-wealths that flouriſhed in thoſe ages. But in Florence, the firſt diſſenſion was amongſt the Nobility; the ſecond, betwixt the Nobility and the Citizens; and the laſt, betwixt the Citizens and the People, or Plebeians. In all which, one Faction had no ſooner got the upperhand, but it divided itſelf into two: and the conſequence of thoſe diviſions was ſuch a ſeries of aſſaſſinations, executions, baniſhments, and diſperſion of families, as is not to be paralleled in the hiſtory of any people that has deſcended to our times. And, in my opinion, nothing demonſtrates the ſtrength of our City ſo clearly as the effects of thoſe Diviſions, which were ſufficient to have

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ſubverted almoſt any other in the world. But ours, on the contrary, ſeems to have gathered freſh vigour, and to have riſen ſtronger from them. For ſuch was the Virtue and Patriotiſm, and ſo powerful the good genius of the Citizens, that ſome who eſcaped thoſe evils, contributed more effectually by their courage and conſtancy to the exaltation of themſelves and their country, than the malignity of Faction had done to depreſs them, though it had ſo grievouſly harraſſed the one, and diminiſhed the number of the other. And, indeed, if ſuch a form of Government had fortunately been eſtabliſhed in Florence, as would have kept the Citizens firmly united together, after they had ſhaken off the yoke of the Empire, I don't know of any Common-wealth, ancient or modern, that could have been deemed ſuperior to it, either in Military power, or the arts of peace. For it is well known, that after the Ghibelines were baniſhed the City in ſuch numbers that all Tuſcany and Lombardy ſwarmed with them, the Guelphs and thoſe that remained in poſſeſſion of it, were able to raiſe an army of twelve thouſand foot and twelve hundred heavy-armed horſe out of their own Citizens for the expedition againſt Arezzo, which was in the year before the battle of Campaldino. And afterwards, in the war with Philip Viſconti Duke of Milan, when they were obliged to truſt to dint of money and Stipendiary forces (as their own were then

then very much reduced), the Florentines expended three millions and five hundred thouſand * Florins during the courſe of it, which laſted five years: and it was no ſooner ended, but, diſſatisfied with the peace, and deſirous of making a further diſplay of their ſtrength, they marched out with an army and laid ſiege to Lucca.

I can ſee no reaſon, therefore, why the cauſes and progreſs of the civil Diſſenſions which happened in this Republic, ſhould not be thought worthy of a minute and particular relation. And if thoſe noble Authors were deterred from it only by the fear of hurting the memory of ſome whom they ſhould neceſſarily be obliged to ſpeak of, they widely miſtook the matter, and ſhew they were not ſufficiently aware of that latent ambition which is naturally implanted in all men, and their deſire of having their own names and thoſe of their Anceſtors tranſmitted to Poſterity. Nor did they recollect that many, who never had any opportunity of ſignalizing themſelves by virtuous and laudable atchievements, have endeavoured to perpetuate their memory by the moſt flagitious and deteſtable means †. Neither did they conſider that

* A coin firſt ſtamped by the Florentines. That of Palermo and Sicily is worth about 2s. 6d. Sterling; that of France 1s. 6d. of Germany 3s. 4d. of Spain 4s. 4d of Holland and Poland 2s. of Savoy 3d. half-penny; of Gold 5s. The laſt is moſt probably meant here.

† As Eroſtratus, who burnt the Temple of Diana at Epheſus, which was reckoned the moſt magnificent ſtructure in

tranſac-

tranſactions which carry an air of greatneſs along with them, ſuch as thoſe of States and Governments, ſtill reflect more honour than infamy upon the Actors, what ends ſoever they have had, or in what light ſoever they are repreſented. Theſe conſiderations prevailed upon me to alter my firſt Plan, and to begin my Hiſtory from the very foundation of our City. And ſince it is not my intention to tranſcribe what has been already publiſhed by others, I ſhall relate ſuch things only as happened *within* the City to the year 1434, taking no further notice of foreign tranſactions than what will be abſolutely neceſſarily for a better underſtanding of what occurred at home: after which period, I ſhall give a diſtinct account both of one and the other. And that the Reader may have a clearer and more extenſive proſpect both ways in this Hiſtory, before I come to treat of the affairs of Florence, I will ſhew by what means Italy became ſubject to thoſe Princes who governed it that time: all which will be included in the four firſt books. The firſt ſhall contain a brief recital of the principal events that happened in Italy from the declenſion of the Roman Empire to the year 1434. The ſecond, a general account of affairs from the foundation of Florence to the

the world. A great author obſerves, that, "the love of riches and pleaſure is not ſo predominant amongſt mankind, in general, as the thirſt of fame."

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war that was commenced againſt the Pope, after the Expulſion of the Duke of Athens. The third will conclude with the death of Ladiſlaus King of Naples: and in the fourth we ſhall arrive at the year 1434. After which we ſhall give a particular narrative of all proceedings, both within and without the City, till we come down to our own times.

THE

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HISTORY

OF

FLORENCE.

BOOK I.

ARGUMENT.

The Roman Empire ruined by inundations of Barbarians. The Western Goths the first invaders of it. Rome taken and sacked by them under the command of Alaric. The Huns invade Italy, take Aquileia under the conduct of Attila, and advance to Rome; but retire at the request of the Pope. The first residence of the Roman emperors at Ravenna. Odoacer causes himself to be styled King of Rome, and is the first of the Barbarians that thought of fixing in Italy. The Empire is cantoned out into several divisions. Theodoric invades Italy, kills Odoacer, calls himself King of Rome, and holds his residence at Ravenna. His great actions and death. Belisarius appointed General for the Emperor Justinian. He is recalled and succeeded by Narses, or Narsetes, an Eunuch. Longinus changes the form of government in Italy. The Lombards invade it under their King Alboin, who is afterwards assassinated by Almachild, at the instigation of his own wife. The Bishops of Rome begin to extend their authority. The Eastern Empire ruined in the time of the Emperor Heraclius. Charlemagne exempts the Pope from all human Jurisdiction, and is chosen Emperor of the West. The original of Cardinals. Osporco being elected Pope is ashamed of his name, and changes it; which custom is followed by succeeding

Popes. The original of Pisa. The state of Italy in the year 931. *Pope Gregory* V. *is driven out of Rome, but returns thither. He deprives the Romans of the power of chusing their Emperors, and confers it upon Six Princes of Germany, who are afterwards called* Electors. *Nicholas* II. *deprives the Romans of their right of approving the Popes when elected, and reduces the election to the suffrages of Cardinals only. An Antipope is set up, which causes a schism in the Church. A quarrel betwixt the Emperor Henry* IV. *and the Pope gives rise to the Guelph and Ghibeline Factions. The original of the Kingdom of Sicily. The first Crusade against the Saracens promoted by Urban* II. *Why so called. Another Antipope. The penance enjoined Henry* II. *King of England, upon the complaints made about the murder of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. The orders of St. Dominic and St. Francis instituted in the year* 1218. *The title of King of Jerusalem transferred to the Kings of Naples. The House of Este become Lords of Ferrara. The Guelphs side with the Church, the Ghibelines with the Emperor. The first mention made of Pope's Nephews. Celestine* V. *resigns the Pontificate to Boniface* VIII. *The Jubilee instituted by Boniface, and at first appointed to be celebrated every hundredth year. Clement* VI. *removes with his Court into France in the year* 1036. *The Visconti, a great family in Milan, become Princes of that city by the expulsion of the Torri. The first Duke of Milan. The Dukedom falls to the Sforzas. The original of the Venetians. Candia ceded to them by the French. Nicolò di Lorenzo, under the title of Tribune, makes himself the chief Magistrate of Rome. The Jubilee reduced to fifty years. Avignon given to the Pope by the Queen of Naples. Gregory* XI. *returns with his Court to Rome, after it had resided seventy-one years in France. Clement* VII. *Antipope. Great guns first used in the war betwixt the Genoese and the Venetians. Three Popes at one time. The Queen of Naples calls in the King of Arragon to her assistance, adopts him, and makes*

makes Braccio de Montone her General. The ſtate of Italy at that time. A character of the ſeveral Princes and chief Commanders.

THE people who inhabit the Northern parts that lie beyond the Rhine and the Danube, living in a healthful and prolific climate, often increaſe to ſuch a degree, that vaſt numbers of them are forced to leave their native country, and go in ſearch of new habitations. For when any one of thoſe provinces begins to grow too populous, and wants to diſburthen itſelf, the following method is obſerved: In the firſt place, it is divided into three parts, in each of which there is an equal proportion of the Nobility and Commonalty, the rich and the poor. After this, they caſt lots; and that diviſion, which the lot falls upon quits the country, and goes to ſeek its fortune, leaving the other two more room and liberty to enjoy their poſſeſſions at home. Theſe demigrations proved the deſtruction of the Roman empire: to which the emperors themſelves alſo did not a little contribute. For when they abandoned Rome, the ancient ſeat of their government, and went to reſide at Conſtantinople, the weſtern parts of the Empire became weak and defenceleſs, being far removed from their inſpection, and conſequently more liable to be plundered both by their own ſubſtitutes and the incurſions of foreign enemies. And indeed, if the indolence and puſillanimity of the Princes, the perfidy of their Miniſters, the fury, ſtrength, and obſtinacy of the Invaders, had been in any degree leſs than they were, an Empire ſo powerful, and founded in the blood of ſo many brave men, could not well have been ſubverted: ſince it was not till after many of theſe inundations that its ruin was finally accompliſhed.

The firſt of theſe Northern nations that invaded the empire, after the * Cimbri (who were ſubdued

* Theſe people, according to Cluver, at firſt came from the extremity of the North, and then poſſeſſed the whole of that large

by Marius a Roman Citizen) were the Viſigoths, that is, the Weſtern Goths, to whom the Emperors, after ſeveral battles fought upon the confines of the empire, at laſt aſſigned the country that extends itſelf along the banks of the Danube for their habitation; of which they maintained the poſſeſſion for a great number of years. And though they afterwards often invaded the Roman Provinces at different times and upon various occaſions, they were as often repelled by the power of the emperors. Theodoſius, to his great honour, was the laſt that defeated and entirely reduced them to obedience: after which, they did not chuſe any other King of their own to reign over them, as they uſed to do before, but voluntarily ſubmitted to his government, received his pay, and fought under his banners. But when that Prince died, and his two ſons Arcadius and Honorius were left heirs to the crown, tho' not to the valour and good fortune of their father,

peninſula which extends itſelf into the German ocean, formerly called Cimbria Cherſoneſus, and now Jutland. And this opinion is confirmed by the teſtimonies of Velleius Paterculus, Eutropius, and Oroſius. They left this angle about the year 639 of Rome, or 3940 of the world, either becauſe the ſea had encroached upon it, or that it was not any longer capable of ſuſtaining ſo vaſt a multitude of inhabitants, who, as ſome ſay, amounted at that time to above 500,000, beſides women and children; and joining with the outcaſt of ſeveral other nations, they over-ran all Germany, Iſtria, Sclavonia, the country of the Griſons, and Switzerland: from whence they fell into Dauphinè, Languedoc, and Provence, and laſt of all into Italy. The Romans being aſtoniſhed at ſuch ſwarms of Barbarians, ſent out their armies againſt them, which were often defeated: but at laſt Marius beat them near Arles in the plains of Camargue, and afterwards gave them a total overthrow betwixt Aix and St. Maximin. The monuments of which victory are yet to be ſeen upon the ſame road, where the Romans erected pyramids in memory of this deciſive battle, fought in the year of Rome 652, and 102 years before the Chriſtian æra. Some authors ſay the Cimbrians firſt invented drums: but that, if it is worth their while, is left to the diſquiſitions of the curious. Strabo ſays, they ſtretched the ſkins of animals over their open chariots in time of war, and beat them with ſticks at the beginning of the fight. They were a very fierce and warlike people, large of ſtature, and uſed to rejoice, ſays Valerius Maximus, over any of their relations or friends that fell in battle, and to make great lamentation over thoſe that died of ſickneſs; looking upon the one as a glorious and happy death, the other as infamous and diſhonourable.

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the times, like the Emperors, began to alter for the worſe.

Theodoſius had appointed three Governors to preſide over the three parts of the empire, Ruffinus over the Eaſt, Stilico over the Weſt, and Gildo over the South; but, after his death, they all reſolved to drop the title of governors, and aſſume the ſovereign dominion over thoſe provinces themſelves. Gildo and Ruffinus were ſoon ſuppreſſed: but Stilico concealing his ambition with more artifice, endeavoured to inſinuate himſelf into the favour and confidence of the new Emperors, with a deſign, however, to perplex and embarraſs their affairs, that ſo he might afterwards the more eaſily ſucceed in his attempts. To ſtir up the Viſigoths againſt them, he adviſed the Emperors to retrench their former pay; and leſt that nation alone ſhould not be able to raiſe a rebellion in the empire, he likewiſe incited the Burgundians, Franks, Vandals, and Alans, (Northern people like the others, and already in motion to ſeek new habitations) to invade the Roman provinces.

The Viſigoths, therefore, ſeeing their uſual ſubſidies reduced, determined to redreſs themſelves. For which purpoſe, they made Alaric their King, under whoſe conduct they invaded the empire, and after many enterprizes, not only took and ſacked Rome itſelf, but over-ran all the reſt of Italy. Not long after theſe victorious atchievements Alaric died, and was ſucceeded by Ataulph, who marrying Placidia, ſiſter to the Emperors, promiſed them, in conſequence of that alliance, to march with an army to the relief of Gaul and Spain, which provinces were then much harraſſed by the incurſions of the Vandals, Burgundians, Alans, and Franks. The Vandals who had ſeized upon that part of Spain called Betica, being now hard preſſed and reduced to extremities by the Viſigoths, were called over by Boniface, (who at that time governed Africa in the name of the Emperors) to come and ſettle there:

for as he was then in open rebellion himſelf, he was afraid of being called to account and puniſhed for it by thoſe Princes. The Vandals, therefore, willingly embarked in this enterpriſe, for the reaſons abovementioned, and under the banners of Genſeric their King made a deſcent upon the coaſt of Africa.

In the mean time Theodoſius, the ſon of Arcadius, ſucceeded to the empire; but as he gave himſelf little trouble about the affairs of the Weſt, theſe new intruders began to think of eſtabliſhing themſelves in their acquiſitions. Accordingly, the Vandals ſoon made themſelves maſters of Africa, the Alans and Viſigoths of Spain, and the Franks and Burgundians not only over-ran Gaul, but gave names to the places of which they had reſpectively poſſeſſed themſelves, calling one part of it France, and the other Burgundy. The ſucceſs of theſe adventurers inviting others to invade the empire, the Huns ſeized upon Pannonia, a province on this ſide the Danube, and gave it the name of Hungary, which it retains to this day. And what ſtill increaſed theſe misfortunes, was, that the Emperor ſeeing himſelf attacked in ſo many different places, began to treat, firſt with the Vandals, and then with the Franks, in order to leſſen the number of his enemies, which very much diminiſhed his own power and authority, and at the ſame time added conſiderable ſtrength and reputation to the Barbarians. Nor was the iſland of Britain, now called England, exempt from its ſhare in theſe troubles. For the Britons beginning to grow apprehenſive of the people that had conquered Gaul, and ſeeing the Emperor not able to protect them, called in the Angli, a German nation, to their aſſiſtance. The Angli, accordingly, under Vortiger their King, undertook to defend them, and for ſome time behaved like faithful allies, but afterwards drove them out of the iſland, and taking poſſeſſion of it themſelves gave it the name of England. Being thus expelled their country, and become deſperate by neceſſity,

ceſſity, the Britons reſolved to invade ſome other, though they had not been able to maintain their own: and with this reſolution having paſſed the ſea, they poſſeſſed themſelves of that part which lies upon the coaſt of France, and called it Bretagne, or Britany. The Huns who, as we ſaid before, had ſeized upon Pannonia, joining with divers other people, as the Zepidi, Eruli, Turingi, and Oſtrogoths, or Eaſtern Goths, put themſelves in motion once more, and went in queſt of freſh quarters. But not being able to force their way into France, which was then bravely defended by the Barbarians, they penetrated into Italy under the conduct of their King Attila, who not long before had murdered his brother Bleda; by which he rid himſelf of all partnerſhip in the government, and became ſo powerful that he reduced Andaric King of the Zepidi, and Velamir King of the Oſtrogoths, into a ſort of ſubjection to him. And having thus got footing in Italy he inveſted * Aquileia; before which place he continued two years without moleſtation, and during the ſiege not only laid waſte the whole country round about it, but totally diſperſed the inhabitants, which, as we ſhall relate in its proper place, firſt gave riſe to the city of Venice. After he had taken and demoliſhed Aquileia and many other cities, he advanced towards Rome, which he ſpared however out of reverence to the † Pope, whom he held in ſo great veneration, that at his interceſſion only he withdrew out of Italy into Auſtria, where he died ‡. After

* The capital of Friuli, formerly a city of great eminence, but now very much decayed. It is at preſent ſubject to the Houſe of Auſtria, though the Patriarch is appointed by the Venetians.

† Leo I. commonly called St. Leo; he enjoyed the pontificate from the year 440 till 461.

‡ He was called *the Scourge of God*, ſince there was hardly any nation in Europe that did not feel the weight of his arms. The peace which he made with Theodoſius the younger was very diſhonourable to that emperor: for he obliged him to advance ſix thouſand pound weight of gold in ready money, and promiſe to pay him a thouſand pound weight every year for the future. So that the eaſtern empire, notwithſtanding the ſpecious name of penſion, which was given to

his death, Velamir King of the Oſtrogoths, and ſome chiefs of the other nations took up arms againſt Tenric and Euric the ſons of Attila, one of whom they killed, and drove the other with all the Huns over the Danube again into their own country: upon which the Oſtrogoths and Zepidi eſtabliſhed themſelves in Pannonia; and the Eruli and Turingi continued upon the banks of the Danube.

After Attila had left Italy, Valentinian then Emperor of the Weſt, reſolved to attempt the reſtoration of that empire to its former greatneſs and ſplendor; and that he might be enabled to defend it with more eaſe and convenience againſt the irruptions of the Barbarians, he choſe Ravenna inſtead of Rome for the place of his reſidence. Theſe calamities which the Weſtern empire ſuſtained, had often obliged the Emperor who reſided at Conſtantinople to give the government of it to other peo-

this exaction, in fact became tributary to the Huns. Maimbourg, Hiſt. de l'Arianiſme. Tom. iii. p. 4. The ſame author ſays, Hiſt. de St. Leon. l. iii. p. 220. that Attila having ſeen a picture at Milan, which repreſented an emperor ſitting upon his throne with Scythians in chains under his feet, ordered it to be removed, and another to be put up in its room, wherein he himſelf was drawn, ſitting upon a throne ſurrounded with emperors loaded with bags of ſilver and gold, which they came to empty at his feet in a very ſubmiſſive manner; intimating by this, that as he had obliged Theodoſius ſeven or eight years before to pay him tribute, he would force the Emperor Valentinian to do the ſame, in order to ſave his life and the miſerable remains of the empire. It is ſaid he deſigned to have eſtabliſhed his own language in the empire upon the ruins of the Roman. Alcyonius in his Medices Legatus introduces Giovanni de' Medici ſpeaking in the following manner, "There is preſerved in our Library a book written in Greek by an unknown author, concerning the wars of the Goths in Italy. I remember to have read in it, that King Attila, after his victories, being reſolved to propagate the Gothic tongue, publiſhed an edict to prohibit all perſons from ſpeaking Latin, and ſent for teachers out of his own country to inſtruct the Italians in the Gothic language." This ſort of ambition ſeems to have been common to moſt conquerors. The Greeks, Romans, Turks, Moors, Normans, and many other nations attempted it, and ſome of them with ſucceſs. The French in theſe times are extending their language at a great rate, and endeavouring by all manner of artifices to make it become general throughout Europe at leaſt. This Prince was either ſuffocated by an eruption of blood from his noſe, as ſome ſay; or murdered by his bride, according to others, on his wedding night.

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ple, as a charge attended with too great trouble and expence. Indeed the Romans themſelves, when they ſaw they were thus ſlighted and abandoned, often created Emperors to defend them, without his permiſſion to do ſo: and ſometimes private perſons, availing themſelves of their own intereſt or authority, uſurped the Imperial dignity: as it happened after the death of Valentinian, when Maximus, a citizen of Rome, ſeized upon it, and forced his widow Eudoxa to marry him; who being of royal extraction and diſdaining the embraces of a private citizen, in revenge for ſo violent an outrage, ſecretly encouraged Genſeric, King of the Vandals, and at that time maſter of Africa, to invade Italy, by repreſenting how eaſy and glorious the conqueſt of it would be to him *. That Prince accordingly, being animated by the hope of ſo great an acquiſition, made a ſudden deſcent upon Italy, and finding Rome deſerted, he ſacked it, and continued there fourteen days. He likewiſe took and plundered many other towns, and having glutted both himſelf and his army with ſpoil, returned into A-

* Petronius Maximus, Grandſon to Flavius Magnus Clemens, was at firſt a Roman ſenator. He had a very beautiful wife, with whom Valentinian III. fell in love, and endeavoured, though in vain, to debauch her. But that Emperor having won all the money that Maximus had, and his ring beſides, one night at play, ſent the ring as from Maximus himſelf, for his wife to come to the palace, where he raviſhed her. Maximus however diſſembled his knowledge of the fact, and concealed his reſentment till he had an opportunity of revenging himſelf, which he did not long after, by cauſing the Emperor to be diſpatched in the Campus Martius: after which, he ſeized the empire, married the Empreſs Eudoxa by force, created his own ſon Cæſar, and married him to Eudoxa the Emperor's daughter. But having told the Empreſs one night, that it was for the love of her that he had killed the Emperor, ſhe was ſo incenſed at it, becauſe ſhe knew the contrary, that ſhe ſent to intreat Genſeric King of the African Vandals to deliver her from the tyrant who kept her as his wife by force. Genſeric came, according to her invitation, and Maximus fled from Rome, but was purſued and ſtoned to death by the people, or killed by a ſoldier as ſome ſay, and afterwards pulled to pieces by the Empreſs and her ſervants and thrown into the Tiber. But ſhe herſelf and her daughters were carried away priſoners by the conqueror. Procop. de bell. Vandal. l. i. p. 15.

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frica. Upon his departure, Maximus being now dead, the Romans returned to the city and made choice of one Avitus, a Roman, for their Emperor. After this and many other revolutions both within Italy and without it, and after the death of ſeveral Emperors, the empire of Conſtantinople fell into the hands of Zeno; and that of Rome, by intrigue and underhand practices, to Oreſtes and his ſon Auguſtulus. But whilſt they were making preparations to maintain it by force, they were invaded by the Eruli and Turingi, who, as we have related, had repaſſed the Danube after the death of Attila, and ſettled themſelves again in their former habitations on the other ſide of that river. Theſe nations having confederated themſelves afreſh, under the command of Odoacer, for this expedition, left their own country to the Longobardi, or Lombards, another northern nation, who took poſſeſſion of it under the conduct of Godoglio their King, and were the laſt that invaded Italy, as ſhall be ſhewn hereafter.

Odoacer having entered Italy, not long after defeated and killed Oreſtes in a battle near Pavia; but Auguſtulus made his eſcape. After this victory, Odoacer changing the title both of the governor and the government, aboliſhed the name of Emperor and Empire, cauſed himſelf to be ſtyled *King of Rome*, and was the firſt chieftain of thoſe nations which then over-ran the world, that reſolved to fix in Italy: for all the reſt before him, either out of an apprehenſion that they ſhould not be able to maintain a territory that might ſo eaſily be ſuccoured by the Emperor of the Eaſt, or for ſome other private reaſon, had contented themſelves with ravaging and plundering it, and then always retired to ſeek ſome other country to live in, which they thought more tenable.

In this manner then, the ancient Roman empire was cantoned out under the following princes and people. Zeno reſiding at Conſtantinople, governed the

the whole empire of the Eaſt: the Oſtrogoths were poſſeſſed of * Mœſia and Pannonia: the Viſigoths, Suevi and Alans of Spain and Gaſcony: the Vandals of Africa: the Franks and Burgundians of Gaul: and the Eruli and Turingi of Italy. The Kingdom of the Oſtrogoths was devolved upon Velamir's nephew Theodoric, who being in amity with Zeno, the Eaſtern Emperor, wrote to him, "That his Oſtrogoths being ſuperior in valour to all other nations, thought it hard and unjuſt to be inferior to them in extent of territory and command; and that it would be impoſſile for him to confine them within the narrow limits of Pannonia: that as he was conſequently under a neceſſity of complying with their deſires, and of ſuffering them to take up arms, in order to provide themſelves with larger and more convenient territories, he thought fit to give him timely notice of it; that ſo he might avert the danger if he pleaſed, by voluntarily aſſigning them ſome country, where, by his favour, they might live with more comfort and reputation." Zeno therefore, partly out of fear, and partly out of a deſire of driving Odoacer out of Italy, gave Theodoric free leave to march againſt him and wreſt it out of his hands if he was able. This offer he accepted, and immediately quitting Pannonia, where he left his allies the Zepidi, he entered Italy, killed Odoacer and his ſon, and after his example, not only called himſelf *King of Rome*, but took up his reſidence at Ravenna, for the ſame reaſons that had before prevailed upon Valentinian to do ſo.

Theodoric was a great and excellent Prince both in the arts of war and peace: in the former he always came off victorious, and in the latter, was continually doing good to the cities and people that were ſubject to him. He diſtributed his Oſtrogoths through the ſeveral towns, and ſet chiefs over them, to lead them in time of war, and to adminiſter juſ-

* Now called Boſnia and Servia.

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tice in the intervals of peace. He enlarged Ravenna, repaired Rome, and reſtored all its honours and privileges, except its military diſcipline. He kept all the Barbarian Princes, who had cantoned out the Empire, in due bounds, without the noiſe or tumult of war, merely by his own wiſdom and authority. He built ſeveral towns and fortreſſes betwixt the extremity of the Adriatick and the Alps, to obſtruct any future incurſion of Barbarians into Italy. If ſo many great virtues had not been ſullied by ſome cruelties he was guilty of towards the latter end of his life (amongſt which may be numbered the putting Symmachus and Boetius to death, though virtuous and innocent men, out of a ſuſpicion that they were conſpiring to depoſe him) his memory would have been every way unblemiſhed and worthy of being held in the higheſt honour. By his valour and goodneſs, not only Rome and Italy, but all the other parts of the Weſtern Empire, were freed from the continual devaſtations to which they had been ſubject for ſo many years, by the repeated irruptions of Barbarians, and at the ſame time reduced into good order. Certainly, if any times were ever to be called wretched in Italy and the other provinces that were thus over-run, they were thoſe that intervened betwixt the reigns of Arcadius and Honorius, and that of Theodoric: for if we conſider the calamitous conſequences that generally enſue upon a change of Prince or form of government either in a kingdom or commonwealth, when effected, not by external force, but by civil diſſentions, (in which, experience has ſufficiently ſhewn us that the leaſt alterations have proved fatal to ſuch ſtates, though exceeding powerful) we may eaſily conceive how much Italy and the reſt of the Roman provinces muſt have ſuffered in thoſe days, when they were forced to change, not only their Princes and form of government, but their laws, cuſtoms, manner of living, religion, language, habit, and even their very names. To reflect only

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upon any one of theſe circumſtances, is enough to make the ſtouteſt man tremble, much more the ſeeing and enduring them all. But if they proved the deſtruction of ſome cities, they likewiſe occaſioned the foundation and augmentation of many more. In the number of thoſe that were deſtroyed, we may reckon Aquileia, Luni, Chiuſi, Popolonia, Fieſoli, and ſome others: amongſt thoſe that were new built, were Venice, Siena, Ferrara, Aquila, and many more, both towns and caſtles, which, for the ſake of brevity, I ſhall here omit. Thoſe that from ſmall beginnings became great and reſpectable, were Florence, Genoa, Piſa, Milan, Naples, and Bologna: to all which may be added, the ruin and inſtauration of Rome, and ſeveral other cities, which were demoliſhed and afterwards rebuilt. Theſe devaſtations and reiterated incurſions of new people produced new languages, as appears from thoſe now uſed in France, Spain, and Italy, which, being compounded of that of their invaders and the ancient Roman, are very different from what they were before. Not only provinces, but rivers, ſeas, and men, likewiſe loſt their names: France, Italy, and Spain, being full of ſuch as are altogether unlike the old ones. To omit many others, we ſhall only inſtance the Po, Garda, and Archipelago, in the firſt caſe: and with regard to the proper names of men, inſtead of Cæſar, Pompey, &c. thoſe of Peter, John, Matthew, &c. now took place. But amongſt all theſe revolutions and changes, that of Religion was of the greateſt conſequence: for the cuſtom and preſcription pleaded by Paganiſm againſt the Miracles of Chriſtianity, produced very great tumults and diſſenſions amongſt men, which yet would not have been ſo fatal if the Chriſtian Church had continued united. But the Greek and Roman Churches, and that of Ravenna, being at variance, and the Hereticks and Catholicks fiercely oppoſing each other, occaſioned infinite confuſion and miſery in the world: as Africa in particular can teſtify,

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which ſuffered much more from the Spirit and Effects of Arianiſm (a doctrine eſpouſed by the Vandals) than from their natural ferocity, or any oppreſſive diſpoſition peculiar to that people. Whilſt men lived expoſed to ſuch dreadful perſecutions, the terror and dejection of their hearts were legible in their countenances: for beſides the numberleſs afflictions they otherwiſe endured, many were deprived of all recourſe to the mercies of God, the ſureſt refuge in adverſity and diſtreſs: for as they were uncertain to what Being they ought to addreſs themſelves for protection, they miſerably died without any hope or comfort.

Theodoric therefore deſerved no ſmall return of thanks, as he was the firſt that gave them any reſpite from ſo great Evils, and reſtored Italy to ſuch a degree of Grandeur, during the thirty-eight years which he reigned there, that hardly any thing was to be ſeen of its former deſolation. But when he died, and the government devolved upon Athalric, the ſon of his daughter Amalaſontha, its evil deſtiny being not yet ſatiated, it ſoon relapſed into the ſame miſerable condition it had been in before. For Athalric dying not long after his grandfather, the kingdom reverted to his mother, who was betrayed, and put to death by Theodate, a miniſter whom ſhe had employed to aſſiſt her in the government of the ſtate. After which, he ſeized upon the kingdom himſelf, to the infinite diſguſt of the Oſtrogoths; a circumſtance that encouraged the Emperor Juſtinian to attempt the diſpoſſeſſing him of Italy. For which purpoſe, he appointed Beliſarius his commander in chief for that Expedition, who had already driven the Vandals out of Africa, and reduced it to its former obedience to the Empire. That general accordingly, in the firſt place made himſelf maſter of Sicily; from whence he tranſported his army into Italy, and there recovered Naples and Rome. Upon which, the Goths ſeeing the havock he daily made amongſt them, laid hands on their King Theodate,

date, and having put him to death, as the author and occaſion of it, they ſet up Vitiges in his ſtead; who, after ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, was at laſt beſieged and taken priſoner in Ravenna by Beliſarius. But the latter not having gained a complete victory, was recalled by Juſtinian, and ſucceeded in his command by Johannes and Vitalis, two generals ſo much inferior to him both in valour and conduct, that the Goths recovered their ſpirits and made choice of Ildovadus, at that time governor of Verona, to rule over them. That Prince being killed ſoon after, the reins of government fell into the hands of Totila, who routed the Emperor's forces, regained Tuſcany, and ſtripped the Imperial generals of almoſt every ſtate that Beliſarius had recovered. Juſtinian, therefore, thought fit to ſend him back again into Italy: but as he came only with an inconſiderable force, he rather loſt the reputation he had acquired before, than made any addition to it. For, whilſt he lay with his army at Oſtia, Totila beſieged Rome and took it, as it were, before his face: but, conſidering he could not well maintain it, and that it would be dangerous to leave it behind him in the condition it then was, he demoliſhed the greater part of the city, diſperſed the citizens, carried the ſenators along with him, and making little account of Beliſarius, advanced with his army into Calabria, to cut off the ſupplies that were coming out of Greece to reinforce him. Beliſarius, however, ſeeing Rome abandoned in this manner, reſolved to attempt ſomething that might re-eſtabliſh his reputation; and having once more taken poſſeſſion of that ciry, ruinous as it was, he rebuilt the walls with the utmoſt expedition, and then ſent to invite the inhabitants to return to it. But fortune did not favour ſo meritorious an undertaking: for Juſtinian, being at that time invaded by the Parthians, was obliged to recall him. So that in obedience to the commands of his ſovereign, he quitted

* quitted Italy, and left that province to the mercy of Totila, who retook Rome, but did not exercise the same rigour upon it that he had done before: for being moved by the entreaties of St. Benedict, (a person in those days held in great veneration for his sanctity) instead of pulling it down again, he immediately began to repair the ruins.

In the mean time, Justinian had made a peace with the Parthians, and resolving to send fresh succours into Italy, was prevented by a new alarm from the Sclavi, another northern nation, who had passed the Danube, and fallen into Thrace and Illyria; so that Totila had made himself master of almost all Italy. But as soon as the Emperor had repelled the Sclavi, he sent another army into Italy, under the conduct of Narses or Narsetes, an eunuch, but a commander of great experience. At his arrival in Italy, he defeated and killed Totila; after whose death, the remainder of the Goths retired into Pavia, and made Teia King over them. On the other hand, Narsetes, after his victory, took Rome again, and then marching against Teia, not only engaged, but routed and killed him near Nocera: by which overthrow the Name of the Goths was utterly extinguished in Italy, after they had reigned there for the space of seventy years, that is, from the time of their King Theodoric to that of Teia. But Italy had scarcely freed itself from their yoke, when Justinian died, and was succeeded by his son Justinus, who, at the instigation of his wife Sophia, recalled Narsetes out of Italy, and sent Longinus thither to

* He afterwards acquired great glory in the Parthian and many other wars. It is said by Crinitus, Volaterran, and other Latin writers, that being accused of conspiring against Justinian, he was not only deprived of all his employments, but had his eyes put out by that Prince in the year 551, and was reduced to such a degree of poverty, that he was forced to beg his bread in the streets of Constantinople. On the contrary, the author of "The Mixed History of Constantinople." Cedrenus, Alciat, and others, say, that he had not his eyes put out, that he was restored to all his employments the year following, and died in peace at Constantinople, in 565.

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ſuperſede him. Longinus, after the example of his predeceſſors, kept his reſidence at Ravenna, but introduced a new form of government into Italy, not appointing governors over Provinces, as the Goths had done, but ſetting up a Chief in every city and town of any note, with the title of *Duke*. Nor did he make any diſtinction betwixt Rome and the other cities in this reform: for aboliſhing the names and authority of conſuls and ſenate, which had continued till that time, he yearly ſent a Duke from Ravenna of his own nomination, to take upon him the government of it, which was called the *Duchy*, or *Dukedom* of Rome. But he that preſided at Ravenna, and more immediately repreſented the Emperor, having the ſuperintendance of all Italy committed to his charge, was called the *Exarch*. This new diviſion not only facilitated, but exceedingly haſtened the ruin of Italy, by giving the Lombards an opportunity of poſſeſſing themſelves of it. Narſetes was very much diſguſted at the Emperor for depriving him of the government of that Province, which he had bravely recovered at the expence of his own blood: and Sophia not thinking it a ſufficient diſgrace to get him recalled, had alſo made uſe of ſome taunts and contemptuous expreſſions; ſending him word, *that ſhe wanted him at home to ſpin as other Eunuchs did**. At which he was ſo outrageouſly provoked, that he incited Alboin, who then

* This general, however, though ſo unworthily diſgraced, and deſigned for a ſpinſter by womaniſh malice and petulance, left many noble traces of his proweſs in Italy: of which, the following inſcription upon a bridge, about three miles from Rome, may ſerve as one teſtimony.

Quam bene curvati directa eſt ſemita Pontis,
Atque interruptum continuatur iter!
Calcamus rapidas ſubjecti gurgitis undas,
Et libet iratæ cernere murmur aquæ.
Ite igitur faciles in gaudia veſtra Quirites,
Et Narſem reſonans, plauſus ubique canat:
Qui potuit rigidas Gothorum ſubdere mentes,
Et docuit durum flumina ferre jugum.

See a Book, called, Inſcriptionum Metricarum Delectus, publiſhed in 1758.

reigned over the Lombards in Pannonia, to come and invade Italy.

The Lombards, as we have already related, had taken poſſeſſion of ſuch places upon the Danube as were abandoned by the Eruli and Turingi, when Odoacer their King conducted them into Italy. There they continued ſome time, till the kingdom fell into the hands of Alboin, a fierce and enterprizing man, who paſſed the Danube, engaged Cunimund, King of the Zepidi, a people ſettled in Pannonia, and not only defeated him, but made himſelf maſter of all that country. And though he married Roſamond, one of the daughters of Cunimund, whom he found amongſt the priſoners that were taken, yet ſuch was the ſavageneſs and inhumanity of his nature, that he ordered a cup to be made of her father's ſkull, out of which he ſometimes drank in memory of that victory. But being invited into Italy by Narſetes, with whom he had contracted a friendſhip during the war with the Goths, he left Pannonia to the Huns, (who, as we have ſhewn, returned into their own country after the death of Attila) marched into Italy, and finding it cantoned out into ſo many diviſions, he made himſelf maſter of Pavia, Milan, Verona, Vicenza, all Tuſcany, and the greater part of Flaminia, now called Romagna. And imagining, from the greatneſs and ſuddenneſs of his conqueſts, that all Italy was now in a manner his own, he made a magnificent banquet at Verona; at which he got drunk, and filling the ſkull of Cunimund with wine, he cauſed it to be preſented to Roſamond his queen, who ſat over-againſt him at the table, ſaying (loud enough to be heard by her) *that, upon ſo joyful an occaſion, ſhe ſhould drink with her Father.* Stung to the quick at ſo cruel a ſarcaſm, ſhe ſecretly vowed revenge; and knowing that Almachild, a noble and brave young Lombard, had an amour with one of her women, ſhe prevailed upon her to contrive that ſhe herſelf might have an opportunity of lying with him in her ſtead:

ſtead: for which purpoſe he was introduced into a dark room, where he lay with Roſamond, ſuppoſing it had been her maid. After which, ſhe diſcovered herſelf and told him, it was now in his option either to kill Alboin and enjoy her and the Kingdom, or to be put to death by him for violating his bed. Almachild therefore agreed to kill his maſter: but after they had perpetrated the murder, finding they were not likely to maintain poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, but rather to be murdered by the Lombards, out of the affection they bore to Alboin, they fled with all his treaſure to Longinus at Ravenna, who received them with much honour.

During theſe troubles, Juſtinus the Emperor died, and Tiberius was elected in his ſtead; who, being engaged in a war with the Parthians, could not ſend any relief into Italy. Longinus therefore, thinking this a fair opportunity to make himſelf King of the Lombards, and of all Italy, by the help of Roſamond and her treaſure, communicated his deſign to her, perſuading her to diſpatch Almachild, and afterwards to take himſelf for her huſband: which propoſal ſhe accepted, and having prepared a cup of poiſoned wine for that purpoſe, ſhe gave it to Almachild with her own hands, as he came thirſty out of the bath: who having drank about half of it, and finding it began to operate, ſoon perceived what ſhe had given him, and thereupon immediately forced her to drink the reſt of the potion herſelf, of which they both died in a few hours, and Longinus loſt all the hopes he had conceived of obtaining the Kingdom: for the Lombards aſſembling at Pavia, which they had now made the ſeat of their government, choſe Cleſi for their King, who rebuilt Imola, a town that had been demoliſhed by Narſetes. He likewiſe reduced Rimini, and almoſt all the country betwixt that place and Rome, but died in the midſt of his victories. This Cleſi treated not only ſtrangers, but even the Lombards themſelves, with ſuch a degree of rigour and cruelty, that they now grow-

ing weary of a monarchical government, determined to have no more kings, and appointed thirty *Dukes* to rule over them.

This change of their Conſtitution was the occaſion that the Lombards could never thoroughly ſubdue Italy, nor extend their conqueſts any farther than Benevento: for as to the cities of Rome, Ravenna, Cremona, Mantua, Padua, Montfelice, Parma, Bologna, Faenza, Forli, and Ceſena, ſome of them defended themſelves a conſiderable time, and others never came under their dominion at all. For as they had no Kings, they were leſs diſpoſed to war; and when they afterwards created Kings again, the taſte which they had had of liberty made them leſs obedient to their Prince, more apt to quarrel amongſt themſelves, and not only checked the courſe of their victories at firſt, but, in the end, was the cauſe of their being totally driven out of Italy.

The affairs of the Lombards being thus circumſtanced, the Romans and Longinus came to an accommodation with them: and it was agreed that all parties ſhould lay down their arms and enjoy what they were reſpectively poſſeſſed of.

About this time the Biſhops of Rome likewiſe began to aſſume a greater degree of authority than ever they had done before. The firſt ſucceſſors of St. Peter having been held in the higheſt veneration for the ſanctity of their lives and the Miracles they wrought, their Examples gave ſuch credit to the Chriſtian Religion, that many Princes embraced it to put an end to thoſe evils and diſtractions which then reigned in the world. And the Emperor of Rome being converted amongſt the reſt, and quitting that Capital to hold his reſidence at Conſtantinople, the Roman Empire began to decline (as we have obſerved before), whilſt the Church of Rome, on the other hand, daily gathered freſh ſtrength and grew more powerful. Nevertheleſs, as all Italy was ſubject to the dominion either of the Emperors or Kings,

Kings, till the coming in of the Lombards, the Bishops of that See took upon themselves no other Authority than what was given them out of reverence to their learning and the holiness of their lives: in civil affairs they were still subject to those Princes, who often employed them as their Ministers, and sometimes put them to death for mal-administration. But what gave them something more weight in the affairs of Italy was the resolution taken by Theodoric, King of the Goths, to remove the seat of his Government to Ravenna: for as Rome was thereby left destitute of a Prince, the Romans were obliged, for their own safety, to put themselves under the protection of the Pope. This, however, did not make any great addition to their authority: for the only point they gained at that time, was, that the Church of Ravenna should acknowledge itself subject to the jurisdiction of that at Rome *. But after the Lombards had invaded Italy and divided it into several districts, the Pope took that opportunity of enlarging his power: for as he was the chief person and in a manner the Head of Rome, both the Em-

* Rome never recovered the fatal blow it received from Constantine's changing the seat of the Empire. Glory and the love of their country no longer animated the breasts of Romans: their courage lost its vigour: the Arts sunk into decay; and nothing was heard in the place, which had been the residence of the Scipios and Cæsars, but disputes and endless contentions betwixt the Bishops and secular Judges. After Justinian's time it was governed by a Viceroy, under the title of Exarch, who no longer regarded it as the capital of Italy; but living at Ravenna, from thence sent his orders to the Romans. The Bishop indeed daily augmented his authority in these times of Barbarism: the power of the Church increased, and the Prefect of Rome was not able to oppose the pretensions of a person that were constantly supported by the sanctity of his profession. In vain did the Church of Ravenna dispute a thousand privileges with that of Rome: the latter was acknowledged by all the Christians of the West as their common Mother: they consulted her, they petitioned her to send them Pastors, and whilst the City was in subjection the Bishop ruled abroad.

In this eighth Century, the Popes first conceived the design of making themselves masters of Rome, and saw that what would have been deemed a revolt and an ineffectual sedition at another time, might now be a Revolution excusable by its necessity, and illustrious by its success. See Voltaire's General History of Europe, Vol. I. p. 33, 34.

peror of Conſtantinople and the Lombards ſhewed him great reſpect. So that the Romans, by the Intereſt of the Pope, began to confederate themſelves with Longinus and the Lombards, not as ſubjects, but as friends and equals; and the Popes entering into an alliance ſometimes with the Lombards, and ſometimes with the Greeks, daily became more and more reſpectable and of greater importance. But the Eaſtern Empire ſoon after fell to decay under the reign of Heraclius, in whoſe time the Sclavi, a people beforementioned, invaded Illyria again; and having made themſelves maſters of that Country, called it Sclavonia after their own name: the other other parts of the Empire were likewiſe attacked, firſt by the Perſians, afterwards by the Saracens out out of Arabia, under the command of Mahomet, and laſt of all by the Turks, who diſmembered it of Syria, Africa, and Egypt. Upon which the Popes ſeeing the Emperors no longer able to protect them upon occaſion, and the power of the Lombards ſtill increaſing, thought it high time to look out for new friends and confederates, and for that purpoſe applied to the Kings of France. So that all the wars, which foreigners afterwards made upon Italy, were chiefly owing to the Popes, and moſt of the ſeveral inundations of Barbarians that poured themſelves into it, were, in a great meaſure occaſioned by their incitement and inſtigation; which practices being continued even to this time, have ſo long kept, and ſtill keep, Italy weak and divided. However, in relating the events that happened betwixt thoſe times and our own, I ſhall enlarge no farther upon the ruin of the Empire, but proceed to give an account of the exaltation of the Pontifs and other Princes that governed Italy till the invaſion of Charles VIII. King of France: and ſhew not only how the Popes became formidable and revered, at firſt by their Eccleſiaſtical cenſures, then by joining temporal arms to thoſe ſpiritual weapons, and

and laſtly by adding * Indulgences to them; but likewiſe how, by making an ill uſe of that terror and reverence, with which they had inſpired mankind, they have entirely loſt the one, and lie at the diſcretion and courteſy of the world for the other.

But to reſume the method we at firſt propoſed. Gregory III. being advanced to the Papacy, and Aiſtolphus or Aſtolphus made King over the Lombards, the latter, contrary to expreſs agreement, ſeized upon Ravenna and made war upon the Pope. Upon which, Gregory ſeeing the Emperor of Conſtantinople ſo debilitated by the abovementioned loſſes, deſpaired of any aſſiſtance from that quarter: and not daring to confide in the Lombards, who had already deceived him more than once, he had recourſe to Pepin, who, from being Lord of Auſtria and Brabant, was become King of France, not ſo much by his own valour, as by that of his grandfather Pepin, and his father Charles Martel. For Charles, being Regent of France, gave the Saracens that memorable overthrow near Tours upon the Loire, wherein above two hundred thouſand of them were killed †: upon which his ſon Pepin, in conſider-

* A perpetual tax upon credulity and ſuperſtition; and an inexhauſtible ſource of riches to the Romiſh Church. The word *Indulgence*, amongſt them, ſignifies a remiſſion of puniſhment due to Sin, granted by the Church, and ſuppoſed to ſave the Sinner from Purgatory. They found their notion of Indulgences upon the infinite treaſure of the merits of Jeſus Chriſt, the Virgin Mary, and all the Saints; which they ſuppoſe the Church has a right to diſtribute by virtue of the *Communion of Saints*. The Jubilee grants a plenary indulgence for all manner of crimes. Their Caſuiſts ſay that a plenary indulgence does not always prove effectual, for want of complying with the conditions upon which it was granted.

It has been a common practice with the Popes to grant Indulgences for the extirpation of Hereticks. Thus, Clement XII. in one of his Bulls ſays, "That we may ſtir up and encourage the Faithful to exterminate *this ungracious Crew of forlorn wretches* (the Cevennois, then in arms againſt Lewis XIV.) we freely grant and indulge the full remiſſion of Sins, whatever they may be, relying upon that power of *binding and looſing*, which our Lord conferred on his chief Apoſtle) to thoſe that ſhall liſt themſelves in this *Sacred Militia*, if they fall in battle."

† According to Anaſtaſius, Paulus Diaconus, and ſeveral other hiſtorians, there were three hundred and ſeventy, or three hundred

ation of the father's bravery and his own great reputation, was afterwards made ſovereign of the Kingdom. To him, as we have ſaid, the Pope applied for ſuccour againſt the Lombards, which he readily promiſed, but ſent him word at the ſame time, " he was very deſirous of firſt ſeeing his Holineſs in France, that he might pay his duty to him in perſon." Upon this invitation Gregory ſet out for France, and paſſed through the quarters of the Lombards without the leaſt impediment or moleſtation, though he was then at war with them: ſo great was their reverence and veneration for Religion at that time.

At his arrival in France, he was received with great honour by that Prince, and after ſome time ſent back with an army into Italy, which laid ſiege to Pavia, and reduced the Lombards to ſuch diſtreſs, that Aiſtolphus was obliged to accept of the terms that were granted him by the French, at the interceſſion of the Pope, who ſaid, " he did not deſire the death of his Enemy, but rather that he ſhould be converted and live." In this agreement, Aiſtolphus promiſed to reſtore all the towns he had taken from the Church. But as ſoon as Pepin's army was returned into France, he refuſed to perform his engagement, which forced the Pope to make a ſecond application to Pepin, who ſent another army

and ſeventy-five thouſand Saracens killed, and but fifteen hundred of the French. But in this they have followed an exaggerated account which was ſent to the Pope after the battle, by Eudo Duke of Aquitain, one of the French generals. But Father Labbè, Mezerai, Cordemoi, and the beſt hiſtorians, who fix the date of this battle in the year 732, ſay plainly, that the Saracen army (which poured itſelf out of Spain into France at that time under the command of Abderama, governor of Spain for Iſcham, Caliph of the Saracens) conſiſted but of fourſcore, or, at the moſt, a hundred thouſand men: that they fought till night without giving way, and were not purſued the next day, when news was brought that they had marched away all night. Now it is impoſſible that ſuch a prodigious ſlaughter ſhould have been made in an army that ſtood its ground, or ſo many hundred thouſand men be put to the ſword, except they fled and were purſued, and had no quarter given them. The former account therefore muſt be looked upon as romantic.

into

into Italy, overcame the Lombards, took Ravenna, and gave it to the Pope with all the other territories under that Exarchate, and the country of Urbino and la Marca besides; though much against the inclination of the Grecian Emperor. Whilst these things were carrying into execution, Aistolphus died, and Desiderius, a Lombard, who was then Duke of Tuscany, taking up arms to secure the succession of the Kingdom to himself, sollicited the assistance of the Pope for that purpose, promising him his friendship in return for the future; which the Pope granted, and he was not opposed by any other competitor. And indeed Desiderius for a while observed his promise with the utmost punctuality, and fairly resigned those territories to the Pope which had been ceded to him by the agreement made with Pepin: nor were there any more Exarchs sent from Constantinople to Ravenna, which was afterwards governed according to the will and discretion of the Pope alone. Not long after, Pepin died, and was succeeded by his son Charles, who, from the greatness of his atchievements, was called Charlemagne, or Charles the Great.

About the same time Theodore the first was advanced to the Papal Chair, and quarrelling with Desiderius was besieged by him in Rome; which obliged him to apply for help to Charles, who, passing the Alps, shut up Desiderius and his Sons in Pavia, took them prisoners, sent them to France, and went himself to visit the Pope at Rome, where he declared and adjudged, *that his Holiness, being God's Vicar, was not subject to any human jurisdiction:* in return for which favour, the Pope and the People of Rome unanimously made him Emperor *.

* Machiavel seems to have made a mistake here in the name of the Pope in whose Pontificate this event happened, which was Zachary, and not Theodore the first. Voltaire sets this matter in a clearer light in his General History of Europe, Vol. I. p. 35. "Pope Gregory III. says he, was the first who conceived the design of making use of the arms of France to wrest Italy out of the hands of the Emperors and the Lombards. His successor Zachary acknow-

So

So that Rome began to have an emperor of the Weſt again; and though the Popes uſed to be confirmed by the Emperors before that time, the Emperor now, on the contrary, was obliged to be beholden to the Pope for his Election: by which the Empire began to loſe its power and dignity, and the Church to advance itſelf and extend its authority daily more and more over temporal Princes. The Lombards had been in Italy two hundred and twenty-two years, and now retained nothing of the Barbarians, except their Name: ſo that Charlemagne, being deſirous to new-model Italy in the Pontificate of Leo the third, was content that they ſhould not only ſtill inhabit, but alſo give name to that part of it where they had been bred, and call it Lombardy. And that the Roman Name might ſtill be reſpected by them, he ordained that all that part of Italy which lay neareſt them and was under the Exarchate of Ravenna, ſhould thenceforth be called Romagna. He likewiſe made his ſon Pepin King of Italy, and extended his Juriſdiction as far as Benevento: whilſt all the reſt of it was ſuffered to continue under the dominion of the Grecian Emperor, with whom he had entered into a compoſition.

ledged Pepin, the uſurper of the Crown of France, as lawful Sovereign. It has been pretended that Pepin, who was then only Prime Miniſter, ſent firſt to aſk the Pope, which was the worthier of the two to ſit upon the throne, he who took no care at all of the Kingdom, or he who governed it with wiſdom, and upheld it by his valour; and that the Pope, who ſtood in need of Pepin's aſſiſtance, determined in favour of the latter. It has never been proved indeed that this farce was really acted: but it is certain that Pope Stephen III. the next ſucceſſor but one to Zachary, called Pepin to his ſuccour; that he forged a letter from St. Peter, addreſſed from Heaven to Pepin and his ſon; that he came into France and gave the royal Unction to Pepin, the firſt anointed King in Europe, in the Church of St. Dennis. He likewiſe forbad the French, on pain of Excommunication, ever to chuſe a King of any other family. Whilſt this Biſhop, expelled from Italy and forced to become a ſupplicant in a foreign country, had the courage to give law to Nations, his Policy prompted him to aſſume an authority which ſecured Pepin: and that Prince, in order to enjoy what was not his right without diſturbance or moleſtation, ſuffered the Pope to uſurp prerogatives that did not belong to him.

This Biſhop was the firſt Chriſtian Prieſt that became a temporal Lord, and that was placed in the rank of Princes.

Dur-

During these transactions, Pascal the first was elected Pope; and the Parochial Clergy of Rome, on account of their being nearest the person of the Pope and ready at hand upon every Election, began to call themselves * Cardinals, (in order to add some Dignity to their power by a splendid title) and assumed so much authority, especially after they had excluded the suffrages of the Laity, that it hardly ever happened that a Pope was elected who was not one of their Body. So that when Pascal died, Eugenius (the second Pontif of that name) Cardinal of Santa Sabina, was chosen by them to succeed him: and Italy being thus fallen into the hands of the French, in some measure changed its face and constitution, by the Popes having taken upon themselves greater authority in temporal affairs, and the French introducing the Titles of Count and Marquis, as Longinus, Exarch of Ravenna, had done that of Duke before. After some others † Osporco, a Roman, succeeded to the Papacy, who being ashamed of so ugly a name, assumed that of Sergius; which first gave rise to the custom of the Popes changing their names, as they now always do at their Election.

In the mean time Charlemagne died, and was succeeded by his son Lewis: but after his death, there arose such discord amongst his Sons, that, in the days of his Grandchildren, the Empire was wrested out of the hands of the French, and the seat of it established in Germany by Ainolphus, the first Emperor of that nation. And indeed the posterity of Charlemagne not only lost the Empire, but their Sovereignty in Italy likewise, by their dissentions: for the Lombards gathering fresh strength, commenced hostilities against the Pope and the Romans, who, not knowing where to have recourse for

* See the original of Cardinals, and the meaning of that word, in the prolegomena to the Life of Pope Sixtus V. Number V. which is too long to be inserted as a Note.

† *Bocca di Porco; Os Porci; Swine's Face.*

pro-

protection, were forced to make Berengarius, then Duke of Friuli, King of Italy. This encouraged the Huns, who at that time were settled in Pannonia, to invade Italy once more: but they were defeated in an engagement with Berengarius, and driven back again into Pannonia, or rather Hungary, which was the name they had given to that province. At that time Romanus was Emperor of Greece, who, having been Admiral of Constantine's fleet, had deprived him of the Empire: and because Puglia and Calabria (which, as we said before, were still left subject to the Empire) had revolted, during these innovations, he was so enraged at their rebellion, that he suffered the Saracens to invade those Provinces; who having subdued them, endeavoured likewise to make themselves masters of Rome. But the Romans (as Berengarius was sufficiently employed in defending himself against the Huns) made Alberic, Duke of Tuscany, their General: by whose valour their city was preserved from the fury of the Saracens, who being obliged to raise the siege, retired from thence and built a fortress upon † Mount Gargano, by which they commanded Puglia and Calabria, and infested all that part of Italy. In this miserable manner was Italy harrassed at that time, by the Huns on that side next the Alps, and the Saracens on the other towards Naples: which troubles continued several years under three of the Berengarii, who successively reigned over it. During which space the Pope and the Church were likewise continually molested and disturbed, being deprived of all succour and protection by the dissentions which reigned amongst the Western Princes, and the weakness of the Eastern. The city of Genoa and all its adjacent territories were also overrun and laid waste by the Saracens: which depopulation gave birth to the greatness of Pisa, by the resort of multitudes thither that had been driven

† Now called Monte St. Angelo.

out

out of their own country. Such was the condition of Italy in the year 931.

But Otho, Duke of Saxony and ſon of Henry and Matilda, ſucceeding to the Imperial crown, and being a man of great reputation and prudence, Agapetus the Pope implored his aſſiſtance to deliver his country from the tyranny of the Berengarii. At that time the ſeveral States of Italy were governed in this manner. Lombardy was under the juriſdiction of Berengarius the Third and Albert his ſon. Tuſcany and Romania, under the dominion of a governor deputed by the Emperor of the Weſt. Some parts of Puglia and Calabria were ſubject to the Grecian Emperor, and others to the Saracens. At Rome two Conſuls were elected every year out of the Nobility, who governed it, according to ancient cuſtom: to whom a Prefect was joined to adminiſter juſtice to the people. They had likewiſe a *Council of Twelve*, which annually appointed Governors over all the towns in their juriſdiction. The Pope had more or leſs authority in that city and the reſt of Italy, according as he had more or leſs intereſt with the Emperors, or other Princes that had the greateſt power there. Otho therefore marched into Italy and drove the Berengarii out of a Kingdom which they had poſſeſſed fifty-five years; and re-eſtabliſhed the Pope in his former dignity. This Prince had a ſon and a grandſon both of his own name, who in their turns ſucceeded to the Empire: and in the time of Otho the Third, Pope Gregory the Fifth was driven out of the City by the Romans. Upon which, Otho returned into Italy to reinſtate him his Chair: and the Pope, to revenge himſelf upon the Romans, took the power of creating Emperors from them, and veſted it in ſix Princes of Germany, three of whom were the Biſhops of Munſter, Treves, and Cologne; the other three were temporal Princes, namely, the Duke of Brandenbourg, the Prince Palatine of the Rhine, and the Duke of Saxony, who were

were afterwards ſtyled *Electors*, and their States, *Electorates*. This happened in the year 1002.

After the death of Otho the Third, Henry Duke of Bavaria, was choſen Emperor by theſe Electors, but not crowned till twelve years after, by Stephen the Eighth. Henry and Simeonda his wife were eminent for their piety, as appears from the many Churches that were built and endowed by them; amongſt which is that of St. Miniato, near Florence. Henry died in the year 1024, and was ſucceeded by Conrade of Suabia; and Conrade by Henry the Second, who came to Rome, and finding a ſchiſm in the Church, as there were then three different Popes ſet up at the ſame time, he depoſed them all, and cauſed Clement the Second to be elected, by whom he was afterwards crowned Emperor.

The ſtates of Italy were then governed ſome by the People, ſome by Princes, and others by the Miniſters of the Emperors, one of whom had the title of Chancellor, and preſided over all the reſt. The moſt conſiderable and powerful of all the princes was Godfrey, huſband to the Counteſs Matilda, who was daughter of Beatrice, ſiſter to Henry the Second. She and her Huſband were in poſſeſſion of Lucca, Reggio, Mantua, and all that territory which is now called the *Patrimony of the Church*. The Popes at that time were not a little embarraſſed and diſtreſſed by the ambition of the Romans; for though they had made uſe of the Papal authority to rid themſelves of the Emperors; yet, as ſoon as the Popes had taken upon them the government of the City, and made ſuch a reform in it as they thought proper, the citizens on a ſudden became their enemies, and did them more and greater injuries than any Prince in Chriſtendom: and at a time when the Pontifs made all the Weſtern part of the world tremble at the thunder of their Cenſures, that people alone had the hardineſs to rebel; ſo that each party at laſt reſolved to leave no endeavours untried to pull down

the reputation and authority of the other. Accordingly, when Nicholas the Second was promoted to the Papacy, as Gregory V. had taken from the Romans the privilege of chuſing their emperors; ſo *He* deprived them of their right of confirming the election of the Popes by their approbation, and confined it to the Cardinals only. Nor was he contented with this, but having entered into a treaty with the Princes who then governed Puglia and Calabria, for reaſons which ſhall be preſently explained, he obliged all the magiſtrates that were ſent by the people of Rome into places under their juriſdiction, to acknowledge the Pope's authority, and ſome he deprived of their offices. After the death of Nicholas, there was another ſchiſm in the Church; for the Clergy of Lombardy would not pay obedience to Alexander the Second, (who had been choſen Pope at Rome) but ſet up Cadolus of Parma, as Antipope. Upon which, Henry the Emperor, who could not bear to ſee the Popes ſo powerful, commanded Alexander to reſign the Papacy, and the Cardinals to repair into Germany, to make a freſh election: for which he had the honour of being the firſt Prince that was made ſenſible of the weight of ſpiritual weapons. For the Pope cauſing a new council to aſſemble at Rome, deprived him both of his kingdom and empire *: and ſome

* There reſided at that time in Rome, a Monk of the Order of Cluny, lately created Cardinal; a man of a reſtleſs, fiery, enterprizing diſpoſition, but chiefly remarkable for his furious zeal for the pretenſions of the Church, which he ſometimes made ſubſervient to his own private intereſts. Hildebrand was the name of this daring man, afterwards the celebrated Gregory VII. He was born at Soana in Tuſcany of obſcure parentage, brought up at Rome, admitted a Monk of Cluny, deputed afterwards to negotiate the affairs of his Order at Rome, and then employed by the Popes in all political concerns that required reſolution and addreſs. He had the chief management of the Church under Alexander II. which led him to conſider the troubles in Germany as a favourable conjuncture for ſtriking a bold ſtroke there. In fact, he engaged Alexander to excommunicate his ſovereign Henry IV. under a pretence of its being reported that Henry ſold Benefices in private, and led a ſcandalous life in the company of lewd women. Upon the demiſe of Alexander, Hildebrand procured himſelf to be elected and inſtalled by the people of Rome, without waiting

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of the Italian States espousing the Pope's party, and some the Emperor's, gave birth to the two famous

for the Emperor's permission: but he soon obtained that, by promising fealty and allegiance. Henry admitted of his excuses, and his Chancellor of Italy repaired to Rome to confirm the election. But he was scarcely settled on the Papal throne, when he pronounced Excommunication against all those that accepted benefices from the hands of Laymen, and against every Layman that conferred them. His design was to deprive all secular Patrons of the right of presentation to Church livings; which indeed was setting the Church at open variance with the Sovereigns of all Christian nations. Henry, amazed at this presumption, called a council at Worms, by the advice of the States, in which he deposed Gregory as a Simoniac and public disturber of the Peace of the Church and Empire: and afterwards sent an envoy to read this decree of the Council to the Pope, and command him to resign and cease to profane the Holy Chair, of which the Emperor was Guardian. Upon this, the Pope declared in a Council of 110 Italian Bishops, "That, by the Authority of God and St. Peter, he deposed Henry from the Imperial throne, and absolved all his subjects from their obedience." The Emperor protested against this Excommunication, and the Pope's usurpation over his crown; alledging the example of Charlemagne, and others, who had the power of confirming the Popes, which several of them, and particularly Gregory himself, had acknowledged to be the Emperor's right. But the German Prelates and Princes, who had engaged Henry in their cause, now deserting him, and threatening to dethrone him, he was forced to pass the Alps in the rigour of the winter, with his Empress, his Son, and one Gentleman only to attend him; and being almost famished with hunger, and starved with cold, this great Emperor, who had been celebrated for so many victories, was obliged to throw himself at the Pope's feet, after he, his Empress, and his son, had waited three days at his gate, in the habit of Penitents, bare-footed, with their heads uncovered, though it was then the middle of January, and without eating a morsel of bread: after which, and agreeing to the Pope's terms, he was absolved. Upon this, the Princes of Italy despising him as a coward, and the Pope as a Tyrant and Simoniac, conspired against them both. The Emperor, therefore, perceiving how much he had abased himself, and disappointed those Princes, who hoped for a Reformation of the Church, through his assistance, at last called them together, and having accused the Pope, as the cause of the ruin of the empire, he demanded their succour against him; by which step he regained their affections, and afterwards kept the Pope in a manner blocked up at home. The German rebels in the mean time, chose Rodolphus, Duke of Suabia, Emperor, and crowned him at Mentz, in the year 1077; upon which, Henry returned into Germany, and defeated the forces of Rodolphus, which so terrified the Pope, that he endeavoured to make an accommodation betwixt them. But the Rebels complaining, that he abandoned them in a cause, wherein he himself had first engaged them, he excommunicated Henry a second time, confirmed the election of Rodolphus, and sent him a crown, with this inscription upon it:

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho.

fac-

factions of Guelfs and Ghibelines, and to those intestine discords which tore their country to pieces, after it was at last delivered from the scourge of Barbarians and foreign inundations.

Henry being thus excommunicated was forced by his own subjects to go to Italy, in the year 1080, where he made his peace with the Pope, by asking pardon upon his bare knees. Not long after, however, there happened another quarrel betwixt him and the Pope, and Henry was again excommunicated: at which he was so exasperated, that he sent his son, whose name also was Henry, with an army to Rome; where, with the assistance of the Romans, who hated the Pope, he besieged him in his castle: but receiving intelligence that Robert Guiscard was marching out of Puglia to the Pontif's relief, he did not wait for his arrival, but returned into Germany. The Romans, however, persisted in their contumacy to such a degree, that Rome was once more sacked by Guiscard, and reduced to that ruinous condition from which it had but lately emerged by the care and pains of so many Pontifs. And as a son of this Robert first founded and modelled the Kingdom of Naples, it may not be foreign to our purpose to give a particular account of his extraction and achievements.

Upon the discords that arose amongst the posterity of Charlemagne, which we have already slightly mentioned, the Normans, another northern people, took the opportunity of invading France, and got possession of that part of it, which from them is still called

Which wretched pun serves to shew the taste of those times, and the intolerable pride of the Roman Pontif.

After this, Henry having at last totally subdued his competitor, called a council at Tyrol, in which he deposed the Pope, and, passing the Alps, took Rome by storm, and besieged him in the castle of St. Angelo, from whence, however, he was delivered by the Duke of Apulia, and died soon after, leaving behind him a memory dear and sacred to the Roman Clergy, who inherited his pride; but detestable to the Emperors, and every good Citizen, who considers the effects of his insatiable ambition. See Voltaire's Gen. Hist. Vol. I. from p. 194 to p. 209. And Histoire d'Allemagne, par Monsieur de Prade.

Normandy *. One division of this people forced its way into Italy, at the time when it was so cruelly harrassed and over-run by the Berengarii, the Saracens, and the Huns; and getting footing in Romagna, during these troubles, they bravely maintained their ground. Tancred, one of the Norman chiefs, had several sons; amongst whom were William, called Ferabar, or Fier-a-bras, and Robert, surnamed Guiscard. After the disturbances in Italy were in some measure composed, and tranquillity restored, William became their prince. But the Saracens being in possession of Sicily, daily infested the coasts of Italy in such a manner, that William was obliged to enter into a confederacy with the Princes of Capua and Salerno, and with Milorcus, a Greek, (who was deputed Governor of Puglia and Calabria by the Grecian Emperor) in order to invade Sicily: and it was agreed, that both the booty and island itself should be equally divided amongst them, in case they should make a conquest of it. The enterprise was attended with success; for they drove the Saracens out of the country, and took possession of it themselves. But Milorcus having caused more forces to be privately transported out of Greece, seized upon the island in the name of the Emperor, and only divided the spoil with the rest: at which, William was not a little disgusted, but thinking it proper to dissemble his resentment till a more convenient opportunity, he departed out of Sicily with the Princes of Capua and Salerno. But as soon as they left him, to return to their respective homes, instead of going back again into Romagna, he made a sudden march with his army into Puglia, surprised Melfi, and soon reduced almost all Puglia and Calabria, in spight of the Emperor's forces; which Provinces were governed by his brother Robert, till the time of Nicolas the Second. And as he afterwards had many disputes with his Nephews about the inheritance of those States,

* Before that time called Neustria.

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he intreated the Pope to uſe his authority to compoſe them; which his Holineſs readily complied with, as he was very deſirous to make Robert his friend by any means, that ſo he might ſupport him againſt the power of the German Emperor, and the petulance of the Romans: and it afterwards happened, as we have juſt related, that upon the ſollicitation of Gregory VII. he drove Henry away from Rome, and chaſtiſed the inſolence of the Inhabitants.

Robert was ſucceeded by his two Sons, Roger and William, who not only annexed the city of Naples, and all the Country betwixt it and Rome, to their inheritance, but alſo ſubdued Sicily, of which Roger was made Lord. But William going ſome time afterwards to Conſtantinople, to marry the Emperor's daughter, Roger took the opportunity of invading his brother's dominions, which he ſoon made himſelf maſter of; and being elated with ſo great an acquiſition, cauſed himſelf at firſt to be called *King of Italy*, but afterwards was contented with the title of *King of Puglia and Sicily*; being the firſt that gave the Kingdom that name and form of government, which it retains to this day; though it has happened ſince, that not only the reigning family, but the very people have been often changed. For, upon the failure of the Norman line, the Kingdom was transferred to the Germans; from them to the French; from the French to the Arragoneſe; and from them to the Flemings, who * ſtill are in poſſeſſion of it.

* The reader is here deſired to remember, that this Hiſtory was publiſhed in the year 1531. Since which time, the Kingdom of Naples has often again changed its Maſters; particularly in 1707, when the Spaniards, who then had it, were driven from thence by the Imperialiſts: and at the Peace of Utrecht in 1713, Naples was confirmed to the Emperor, and Sicily allotted to the Duke of Savoy, with the title of King. The Spaniards invaded Sicily in 1718, but were forced to abandon it again, and then it was conferred on the Emperor Charles VI. who held it till the year 1735, when the Imperialiſts were driven out of this Iſland, and all their Italian dominions; and Don Carlos, the King of Spain's eldeſt Son, by the Princeſs of Parma, his ſecond Wife, was advanced to the throne of the Two Sicilies, (Naples and Sicily) whither he was convoyed by a ſquadron of Britiſh men of war, under the command of Sir John Norris. It was con-

In the mean time, Urban the Second had ſucceeded to the Pontificate: but as he was a perſon very diſagreeable to the Romans, and did not think himſelf ſecure in Italy, on account of the diſturbances there, he removed, with all his Clergy, into France, where he firſt laid the plan of a very noble and generous undertaking. For having aſſembled a great concourſe of People at * Antwerp, he made an eloquent and pathetic harangue againſt the Infidels, which inſpired them with ſuch an ardour, that they reſolved upon an expedition into Aſia againſt the Saracens: and this expedition was called a Cruſade (as thoſe of the ſame kind were likewiſe afterwards) becauſe all that embarked in it bore a red Croſs upon their armour and clothes. The chief commanders in this enterprize were Godfrey, Euſtach, and Baldwin, Counts of Bouillon, and † Peter the Hermit, a man held in exceeding great veneration, both for his prudence and ſanctity of life. Many Princes and Nations contributed to it with their purſes, and numbers of private Gentlemen ſerved as volunteers without any pay or ſtipend: ſuch an influence had Religion at that time over the minds of men, animated by the example of their Commanders! This enterprize was at firſt very ſucceſsful; for all Aſia Minor, Syria, and part of Egypt, were conquered by the Chriſtians: and during the courſe of this war, the Order of the *Knights of Jeruſalem* was inſtituted, which ſtill ſubſiſts, and being in poſſeſſion of Rhodes ‡, is the chief bulwark againſt the power of the Turks. The Order

firmed to him by a ſubſequent treaty, and ſtill continues in his family, though the Queen of Hungary likewiſe claims a right to this Kingdom.

* Machiavel is miſtaken in the name of the place; it was at Clermont in Auvergne, where Urban harangued the people in the market-place. See Voltaire's Gen. Hiſt. Vol. I. p. 263.

† A Pilgrim of Amiens, firſt known by the name of Coucoupietre, or, Cucupierte. Ibid.

‡ They were driven out of Rhodes by the Turks, in the time of Soliman II. and the Emperor Charles V. gave them the Iſle of Malta, when Monſieur de l'Iſle Adam, uncle to Anne de Montmorency, Conſtable of France, was their Grand Maſter. And this Iſland has been their chief place of reſidence ever ſince.

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of the *Knights Templars* was likewiſe founded in theſe times; but their manners grew ſo diſſolute that it was ſoon aboliſhed. After theſe things, many events happened, in which ſeveral nations and divers particular men diſtinguiſhed themſelves at different times and upon various occaſions. The Kings of England and France, the States of Piſa, Venice, and Genoa, were engaged in this expedition, and acquired great reputation, carrying on the war with variety of ſucceſs, till the time of Saladine the Saracen, whoſe valour and good fortune, added to the diſcord that aroſe amongſt the Chriſtian Princes, at laſt robbed them of the glory they had gained, and drove them out of a country where they had ſo happily and honourably maintained their footing for the ſpace of ninety years.

After the death of Urban, Paſcal the Second was made Pope, and Henry the Fourth ſucceeded to the Empire; who, coming to Rome, and pretending great reſpect for the Pope, found means to ſhut up both him and all his Clergy in priſon: nor could he afterwards be prevailed upon to ſet him at liberty again, till he had extorted a licence from him to diſpoſe of all the Churches in Germany as he pleaſed *.

* After the death of the Emperor Henry IV. his ſon Henry V. being deſirous to be crowned by the hands of the Pope, according to the uſual manner, Paſcal refuſed to put the crown upon his head, except he would renounce his right to the inveſtitures of Benefices. But the young Prince diſdaining ſuch a propoſal, cauſed the Pope and his Clergy, and all the principal perſons of the city of Rome to be ſeized, and kept them in priſon two months; at the end of which, the Pope made his ſubmiſſion and crowned him. It is ſaid, that Paſcal, when he gave part of the Hoſt to Henry, which he had conſecrated at Maſs, ſpoke to him in this manner: "May it pleaſe your Majeſty, in confirmation of a ſolid peace, and our mutual union, I give you the Body of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who was born of the Virgin Mary, and died upon the Croſs for us, as the Catholick Church believes." But the Cardinals condemning this conceſſion in the Pope, he revoked it in a council. Hoffman ſays, that having taken one part of the Hoſt, and given the other to the Emperor, he expreſſed himſelf thus: "Sicut pars hæc vivifici corporis diviſa eſt, ita diviſus ſit a regno Chriſti domini noſtri qui pactum hoc violare tentaverit;" that is, "May he be excluded the Kingdom of Heaven, who goes about to violate this agreement." Sigon. lib. x. But the Emperor was hardly got into Germany, when the Pope raiſed the Saracens againſt him, by whom he was defeated, and forced to give up the matter of Inveſtitures. This

About this time, the Countefs Matilda died, and left all her poffeffions to the Church*. After the death of Pafcal and Henry IV. many Popes and Emperors fucceeded, till the Papacy fell to Alexander III. and the empire to Frederick Barbaroffa, a Suabian.

The Popes, in that interval, had had many quarrels, both with the people of Rome and the Emperors, which grew to a ftill greater height in the time of Barbaroffa. Frederick was an excellent foldier, but of fo haughty a difpofition, that he could not bear the thoughts of fubmitting to the Pope: yet he came to Rome to be crowned, and after that, returned peaceably into Germany. But this pacific temper did not continue long; for he fpeedily returned into Italy to reduce fome towns in Lombardy that refufed to obey him: at which juncture it happened, that the Cardinal of St. Clement, a Roman born, was fet up againft Alexander, and chofen Pope by fome of the Cardinals. Upon which, Alexander complained of him to Frederick the Emperor, who then lay encamped

Pope excommunicated the Bifhop of Florence, for faying Antichrift was then born. Platina. Baronius. Hen. Canifius.

* She was Daughter of Boniface, Marquis of Tufcany, and Beatrice, the Daughter of Conrade II. She waged war againft the Emperor Henry IV. in behalf of Pope Gregory VII. who had gained fuch an afcendant over her, that by his perfuafion, fhe made an abfolute donation of her territories to the Holy See, referving to herfelf only the ufufruct during life, though Henry was her next heir, both as a relation and Lord paramount. She often led her armies in perfon againft that Prince, and got great reputation by her courage and conduct. Her enemies accufed her of being too familiar with Pope Gregory, who was her fpiritual director. He was fhut up with her in the fortrefs of Canofa, near Reggio, in the Apennine Mountains, all the while that Henry IV. with his Empref and Son, were doing penance at his gate, in the abject manner beforementioned. It is true, he was then fixty years old; but Matilda was a young, weak woman. The devout language which we find in his letters to the princefs, compared with the extravagance of his ambition, might induce fome to fufpect, that he made ufe of Religion as a cloak to all his paffions. However that might be, after fhe had loft Pope Gregory, fhe married the young Prince of Guelph, fon of Guelph, the Duke of Bavaria. Then was feen the imprudence fhe had been guilty of in making the abovementioned donation: for fhe was at that time but forty-two years of age, and might ftill have had children, who muft have engaged in a civil war to recover their inheritance. See Lambert, the Abbot of Ufberg, as quoted by Baronius, in his Annals: and Voltaire's General Hiftory, Vol. I. p. 201, 205.

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before Crema, and received for anſwer, "that both of them muſt come perſonally before him, and when he had heard their reſpective pretenſions, he ſhould be better able to judge which of them was the true Pope." But Alexander being diſſatisfied with this anſwer, and perceiving that the Emperor was inclined to favour the Antipope, immediately excommunicated him and fled for refuge to Philip King of France. Frederick, however, ſtill proſecuting the war in Lombardy, took Milan and diſmantled it; which occaſioned the Cities of Verona, Padua, and Venice, to enter into a confederacy for their common defence againſt him.

In the mean time the Antipope died, and Frederick ſet up Guido of Cremona in his room. The Romans, therefore, taking advantage of the Pope's abſence, and ſeeing the Emperor ſufficiently employed in Lombardy, had not only reſumed ſomething of their ancient authority in Rome, during this interval, but likewiſe demanded obedience from other ſtates which had been formerly ſubject to them. And becauſe the * Tuſculans refuſed to acknowledge their juriſdiction, they marched out in a confuſed and tumultuous ſort of a manner againſt them: but as the latter were ſuccoured by the Emperor, they defeated the Romans, and ſlew ſo many of them, that after that time, Rome was never ſo rich and populous again as it had been before.

This encouraged Pope Alexander to return to that City, where he thought he might now be ſafe enough on account of the enmity betwixt Frederick and the Romans, and becauſe he knew his hands were full in Lombardy. But Frederick poſtponing every other

* Tuſculum was a little territory not far from Rome, ſituated in that part which at preſent is called la Campagna di Roma. It was famous for Cicero's Villa, which is now in the poſſeſſion of the Borgheſe family. It is the ſeat of a Biſhop, who ſtill retains the name of Tuſculanus Epiſcopus. The town of Tuſculum was deſtroyed in the time of Celeſtine III. becauſe the inhabitants ſided with the Imperialiſts, and Freſcati built upon its ruins about 560 years ago. There are a great number of palaces of pleaſure in and about it.

conſideration, marched with his army to beſiege Rome, where Alexander did not think fit to wait for him, but retired into Puglia, of which William was become King by right of inheritance after the death of Roger. Frederick being driven away by the Plague, raiſed the ſiege and returned into Germany: and the Lombards who had confederated againſt him, in order to diſtreſs Pavia and Tortona, towns that adhered to the Emperor's party, built another city, which they deſigned to make their magazine, or place of arms, during that war, and called it Alexandria, in honour of the Pope and defiance of the Emperor. In the mean time, Guido the Antipope died, and John of Fermo was ſet up in his room, who, by the favour of the Imperial party, was ſuffered to reſide at Monteſiaſcone: whilſt Alexander was gone to Tuſculum at the invitation of that People, who thought his authority would protect them againſt the Romans. During his ſtay there, Ambaſſadors came to him from Henry, King of England, to clear their Maſter of the death of Thomas Becket, Archbiſhop of Canterbury; of which he had been publickly, but injuriouſly accuſed. To inquire into the truth of this matter, the Pope ſent two Cardinals to England; who, though there was no ſufficient proof of the King's guilt, yet on account of the infamy of the fact, and becauſe his Majeſty had not ſhewn the Archbiſhop due reſpect, as they pretended, enjoined him for a Penance, that he ſhould call all the Barons of his Kingdom together, and make oath of his innocence in their preſence: that he ſhould immediately ſend two hundred ſoldiers to Jeruſalem, to be paid by him, for twelve months, and follow them in perſon thither with as great a force as he could raiſe, before the expiration of three years: and farther, that he ſhould not only be obliged to abrogate all acts that had been paſſed in his Kingdom to the prejudice of the Church and Eccleſiaſtical immunities, but give any of his ſubjects leave to appeal to Rome upon occaſion, whenſoever, and as often as they

they had a mind: all which conditions were accepted by Henry, and that great Prince ſubmitted to a ſentence which would be ſcorned and rejected by any private man at this time of day *. Nevertheleſs, whilſt the authority of the Pope was ſo formidable to foreign Princes, he had not power enough to make himſelf obeyed at home; nor could he prevail upon the Romans to let him reſide in their City, though he promiſed them not to concern himſelf about any thing but what immediately concerned the intereſts of the Church. From whence it ſeems, as if authority that ſupports itſelf merely by appearances, is more dreaded at a diſtance, than by thoſe that are upon the ſpot, and have an opportunity of looking more narrowly into the nature of it.

By this time Frederick had returned into Italy: but whilſt he was making preparations to renew the war againſt the Pope, all his Clergy and Barons threatened to abandon him if he did not reconcile himſelf to the Church: ſo that he was forced to go and make his ſubmiſſion to the Pope at Venice, where they were reconciled †. But, by an article of this accommodation, his Holineſs obliged the Emperor to give up all the authority that he had at Rome, and inſiſted upon

* Still more harmleſs and ridiculous was the penance or curſe pronounced upon Sir William Tracey, who was ſaid to be the moſt active of thoſe that were concerned in this murder. He and all his poſterity were ſentenced "to have the wind always in their faces, whether they travelled by land or water. A woeful curſe indeed, if it had been effectual! From this ſcrap of a Legend aroſe the old fooliſh proverb,

——— "The Traceys
Have always the wind in their faces."

† The haughty Pope ſet his foot upon his neck, with this expreſſion: "Super aſpidem & baſiliſcum ambulabo," &c. "I will tread upon the lion and adder, the young lion and the dragon will I trample under my feet." Pſal. xci. 13. The Emperor replying, "That power was given to Peter only;" he rejoined, "Et mihi & Petro;" "It was given to me and Peter too." Afterwards in his troubles, Emanuel, Emperor of Conſtantinople, ſent to offer him aſſiſtance, provided he would conſent to the re-union of the Eaſtern and Weſtern Empires; to which the Pope anſwered, "That he could not conſent to unite, what his predeceſſors had taken ſo much pains to divide." Baronius endeavours to prove theſe ſtories fabulous.

having his ally and confederate, William, King of Sicily and Puglia, included in the agreement. After which, Frederick, who was a warlike Prince and hated an inactive life, embarked in the expedition to Asia, to vent his spirit upon the Turks, when he saw he could not revenge himself upon the Pope. But when he had got as far as the banks of the Cidnus, a river in Cilicia, being tempted by the clearness of its streams, he could not resist the pleasure of bathing in them †, by which he contracted such a disorder, that he died of it. An accident that was of more service to the Mahometans, than all the Pope's excommunications had been to the Christians: for the latter only curbed his ambition, but this entirely extinguished it.

After the death of Frederick, the Pope had nothing to struggle with but the inveterate obstinacy of the Romans: and, after long disputes about the creation of Consuls, it was at last agreed, that, according to ancient custom, they should have the privilege of chusing them, but that they should not enter upon their office till they had sworn obedience to the Church. Upon this agreement, John the Antipope fled to Mont Albano, where he died soon after. In the mean time William, King of Naples, died also: and as he left no sons but Tancred, who was illegitimate, the Pope designed to have seized upon his Kingdom. The Barons, however, would not consent to that, but made Tancred their King. Celestine the Third succeeding to the Papacy, and being desirous to wrest that Kingdom out of the hands of Tancred, endeavoured to get Henry, who was son to Frederick, chosen Emperor, and also promised him the Kingdom of Naples, upon condition that he should re-

† It is worthy of notice, that when Alexander the Great came to this river, he also was so delighted with the clearness of the waters, that he threw himself into it, all covered with sweat and dust as he was: by which he was so benumbed, that it required the utmost skill of his physician to recover him. Qu. Cur. lib. iii. sect. 6. See the story at large there, as it is a very remarkable one.

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ſtore ſuch lands as belonged to the Church. And to facilitate the matter, he took Conſtantia, an old maid (daughter to William the late King) out of a Nunnery, and gave him her to wife: and in this manner the Kingdom of Naples paſſed from the Normans, who had been the founders of it, to the Germans.

Henry the Emperor, having ſettled his affairs in Germany came into Italy with his wife Conſtantia, and a Son about four years old, whoſe name was Frederick, and without much difficulty took poſſeſſion of that Kingdom; as Tancred was now dead and had left but one Son, named Roger, who was an infant. Not long after, Henry died in Sicily, and was ſucceeded in that kingdom by Frederick: and Otho, Duke of Saxony, was choſen Emperor by the influence of Innocent the Second. However, he had no ſooner got the Imperial Crown upon his head, but he fell out with the Pope, contrary to the expectation of all men, ſeized upon Romagna, and was preparing to invade Sicily: upon which, being excommunicated by the Pope, he was deſerted by every one, and Frederick King of Naples choſen Emperor in his ſtead. This Frederick came to Rome to be crowned there; but the Pope being jealous of his power, refuſed it, and endeavoured to thruſt him out of Italy, as he had done Otho: at which, Frederick being much offended, went into Germany, raiſed an army, made war upon Otho, and at laſt overcame him.

In the mean time Innocent died, who, beſides his other magnificent works, built the Hoſpital di Santo Spirito at Rome. He was ſucceeded by Honorius the Third: in whoſe Pontificate, the Orders of St. Dominick and St. Francis were inſtituted, about the year 1218. This Pope crowned Frederick, to whom John (deſcended from Baldwin, King of Jeruſalem, who commanded the remainder of the Chriſtians in Aſia, and ſtill retained that title) gave one of his daughters in marriage, and the title of that Kingdom in dower with her, which the Kings of Naples have borne ever ſince. Italy was then circumſtanced in this

this manner. The Romans no longer appointed Consuls, but invested sometimes one, sometimes more of the Senators with the same authority. The confederacy still subsisted, into which the following cities of Lombardy had entered against Frederick Barbarossa, namely, Milan, Brescia, and Mantua, with most of those in Romagna, besides Verona, Vicenza, Padua, and Trevigi. The cities that took part with the Emperor, were Cremona, Bergamo, Parma, Reggio, Modena, and Trenta. The other cities and fortresses of Lombardy, Romania, and the Marca Trevigiana, sided sometimes with one party, and sometimes with the other, as it best suited their interest.

In the reign of Otho the Third, one Ezelino came to settle in Italy. This man's grandson, whose name was likewise Ezelino, becoming very rich and powerful, joined the party of Frederick, in opposition to the Pope: and it was by his instigation and assistance, that Frederick invaded Italy, took Verona and Mantua, dismantled Vicenza, seized upon Padua, defeated the army of the Confederates, and advanced towards Tuscany; during which time Ezelino made himself master of la Marca Trevigiana. But they could not take Ferrara, as it was defended by Azzone de Este, and some forces which the Pope had in Lombardy: in recompence for which service, as soon as the siege was raised, his Holiness gave that City in fee to the said Azzone, from whom those are descended that are Lords of it at this day *. After this, Frederick took up his head-quarters at Pisa, being desirous to make himself master of Tuscany: and by the distinction which he made betwixt his friends and those that opposed him, he raised such discords and animosities amongst them as afterwards

* This fief returned to the Church in the time of Henry IV. King of France, who restored it to Clement VIII. upon the death of Alphonso II. Duke of Ferrara, in 1598, without heirs male; though it was claimed by the Duke of Modena, a territory that was erected into a Dukedom by the Emperor Frederick III. 1452, in favour of Borso d'Este, whose family have been in possession of it ever since.

proved

proved the ruin of all Italy: for the two factions of Guelphs and Ghibelines increaſed every day, the former ſiding with the Church, the other with the Emperor, and were firſt called by thoſe names at the City of Piſtoia. When Frederick left Piſa, he made ſuch terrible havock and devaſtation in the territories of the Church, that the Pope, having no other remedy, proclaimed a Cruſade againſt him, as his predeceſſors had done againſt the Saracens: and Frederick, for fear of being left deſtitute, and ſuddenly deſerted by his own forces, as Barbaroſſa and other former Emperors had been upon the like emergencies, took a large body of Saracens into his pay, and to attach them more firmly to him, and ſtrengthen his oppoſition to the Pope in Italy, by troops that deſpiſed his maledictions, he gave them Nocera, that ſo when they ſaw they had a place of their own whither they could retreat upon occaſion, they might ſerve him with more confidence and ſecurity.

Innocent the fourth was now made Pope; who being afraid of Frederick, retired to Genoa, and from thence into France, where he aſſembled a Council at Lyons, at which Frederick deſigned to have been preſent himſelf, if he had not been prevented by a rebellion that broke out in Parma: and, not ſucceeding in his attempts to ſuppreſs it, he marched away into Tuſcany, and from thence tranſported himſelf into Sicily, where he died not long after, leaving his own ſon Conrade in Suabia, and Manfred his natural ſon in Puglia, whom he had before made Duke of Benevento. But Conrade coming to take poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, was ſeized with an illneſs at Naples and died there, leaving only one ſon behind him in Germany, whoſe name was Conradine. Manfred therefore in the firſt place, took the government of the Kingdom upon him, as guardian to Conradine, during his minority; and afterwards giving out that the young Prince was dead, made himſelf King, and forced the Pope and the Neapolitans, who oppoſed it, to acknowledge him.

During

During these disturbances in that Kingdom, there likewise arose great commotions and dissensions in Lombardy, betwixt the Guelphs and the Ghibelines there. The Guelphs were headed by a Legate from the Pope; and the Ghibelines by Ezelino, who had got possession of almost all that part of Lombardy, which lies on the other side of the Po. And as the City of Padua had revolted whilst he was engaged in this war, he caused twelve thousand of the Paduans to be put to death, but died himself before the war was ended, in the thirtieth year of his age: after which, all the territories that had been in his hands recovered their liberty *. Manfred King of Naples, however, continued at enmity with the Church, as his predecessors had done, and kept Urban the fourth, who then filled the Pontifical chair, in such continual alarm, that he was obliged to set up another Crusade, and to retire to Perugia, till he could assemble his forces. But finding that few came in and very slowly, and that more powerful supplies were necessary to reduce him to reason, he applied to Lewis † King of France for assistance, (whose brother, Charles of Anjou, he made King of Naples and Sicily) and exhorted him to come into Italy to take possession of that Kingdom. But the Pope died before the arrival of that Prince at Rome, and was succeeded by Clement the fourth; in whose time Charles came to Ostia with thirty gallies, having appointed the rest of his forces to march thither by land. During the stay that he made at Rome, the Romans, out of compliment, conferred the senatorial

* Paulus Jovius says, in his Elogies, he was one of the most barbarous Tyrants that ever lived, killing man, woman, or child, upon the least offence, and sometimes without any at all. The punishments and tortures he invented, were such as had never been heard of before. After he had exercised every kind of cruelty upon mankind, for the space of forty years, he was wounded and taken prisoner by the confederated Princes of Lombardy, in attempting to make himself master of Milan: and being carried to Soncino, he died mad there in 1259; so that he must have lived much longer than Machiavel says he did.

† Lewis IX. commonly called St. Lewis.

Dignity upon him, and the Pope confirmed him in his Kingdom, on condition that he ſhould yearly pay the ſum of fifty thouſand florins to the Church: but at the ſame time publiſhed a Decree that neither Charles, nor any other that ſhould ſucceed him in that Kingdom, ſhould be capable of being Emperor. After which, Charles advanced againſt Manfred, whom he routed and killed near Benevento, and took poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily. But Conradine, to whom that Kingdom of right belonged, by his father's will, having raiſed a good body of forces in Germany, marched into Italy againſt Charles, by whom he was engaged at Tagliacozzo, and not only defeated, but taken, and afterwards killed, as he was endeavouring to make his eſcape in diſguiſe.

After this, Italy continued in peace till the Pontificate of Adrian the Fifth, who not being able to bear that Charles ſhould continue at Rome, and rule every thing there, as he did, by virtue of his Senatorſhip, removed to Viterbo, and ſollicited Rodolphus the Emperor to march into Italy againſt him. In this manner, the Popes, ſometimes in defence of Religion, ſometimes to gratify their own private intereſt and ambition, were continually calling foreign Princes into Italy, to foment new wars: and no ſooner had they exalted one of them, but they immediately repented of what they had done, and endeavoured to pull him down again: nor would they ſuffer that province, which yet they were not able to ſubdue themſelves, to be quietly enjoyed by any body elſe. So that the Princes of it were in continual dread of them, eſpecially as the Popes always got the better of them, either by force or fraud, if they were not out-ſchemed, as Boniface the eighth, and ſome others of them, were by the Emperors, under the maſk of friendſhip.

Rodolphus being detained by a war, that he was engaged in with the King of Bohemia, was not at leiſure to come into Italy, till after the death of Adrian, whoſe ſucceſſor in the Papacy was Nicholas III. of the

the family of Urſini, a bold and ambitious man, and determined at all events to humble the power of Charles: for which purpoſe, he contrived, that Rodolphus the Emperor ſhould complain of Charles for keeping a governor in Tuſcany, who ſided with, and ſupported the faction of, the Guelphs in that province, where they had been re-eſtabliſhed by him after the death of Manfred. To oblige the Emperor therefore, Charles recalled that governor, and the Pope ſent one of his Nephews, who was a Cardinal, to take poſſeſſion of it for the Emperor: in return for which favour, the Emperor reſtored Romagna to the Church, which had been taken from it by his Predeceſſors; and the Pope made Bertoldo Urſini, Duke of Romagna. And now thinking himſelf ſtrong enough to cope with Charles, he degraded him from his Senatorial dignity, and made a Decree, that for the future, no perſon of royal extraction ſhould ever be a Senator of Rome. He likewiſe formed a ſecret deſign, in concert with Peter, King of Arragon, to deprive Charles of Sicily; which afterwards took effect in the time of his ſucceſſor. He farther intended to have made two Kings, of his own family; one of Lombardy, the other of Tuſcany; by whoſe power and aſſiſtance the Church might prevent any more Germans from coming into Italy, and defend itſelf againſt the French that were already ſettled in the Kingdom of Naples. But he died before theſe ends could be accompliſhed, and was the firſt Pope that openly avowed his ambition, and ſhewed that under a pretence of advancing the intereſts of the Church, he only deſigned to aggrandize his own family. And though no mention is made of the Pope's Nephews, or other relations before this time, yet ſucceeding hiſtory is full of them, and we muſt conſider them henceforth as their ſons: for as the Pontifs formerly endeavoured to leave them Princes, they would now leave them Popes, if they could, and make the Papacy hereditary. But the principalities which they have hitherto erected, have been of ſhort duration:

for

for as the Popes are commonly old men before their exaltation, and ſeldom live long after it, the ſtates which they found have not ſufficient time to eſtabliſh themſelves, and therefore are blown down by the firſt guſt of wind, for want of ſtrength and authority to ſupport them.

This Pope was ſucceeded by Martin the Fourth, who being a Frenchman born, favoured the party of Charles in ſuch a manner, that Charles ſent an army to his aſſiſtance in Romagna, which had rebelled: but as he lay encamped before Forli, Guido Bonatti, an aſtrologer, who was then in the town, adviſed the Garriſon to make a ſally at a particular hour appointed by him, which ſucceeded ſo well, that all the French forces were either taken or killed. About this time, the deſigns that had been formed by Pope Nicholas, and Peter King of Arragon, were put in execution: in conſequence of which, the Sicilians *

* Moſt writers agree, that Nicholas III. died of an apoplexy at Sutri, two years before this event happened. Platina, Du Cheſne, Bzovius, who continued the Annals of Baronius down to his own time. Raynald. in Annal. Ludovic. Jacob. Bibliothec. Pontific. Voltaire ſays in his General Hiſtory of Europe, Vol. I. p. 313. "It is the general opinion, that a Sicilian Gentleman, whoſe name was John of Procida, diſguiſed in the habit of a Franciſcan Friar, laid that famous conſpiracy, by which every Frenchman in the iſland was to be maſſacred at the ſame hour in the evening of Eaſter Sunday 1282, upon ringing the bell for Veſpers. It is certain, that this John of Procida had prepared the minds of the people in Sicily for a revolution; that he had been negotiating at Conſtantinople, and in the kingdom of Arragon; and that Peter, King of Arragon, Manfred's ſon in law, had entered into an alliance with the Grecian Emperor againſt Charles of Anjou: but it is not at all probable that the Sicilian Veſpers (as that Maſſacre was afterwards called) was a premeditated conſpiracy. If there had been any plot formed, it muſt have been put in execution chiefly in the kingdom of Naples; and yet not one Frenchman was killed there. Malaſpina relates, that a Frenchman, whoſe Name was Droguet, was attempting to raviſh a woman at Palermo, at the very time when the people were going to Veſpers: the woman cried out; the people flocked to her aſſiſtance, and killed the Frenchman. The firſt emotion of private revenge awakened the general hatred, and the Sicilians, excited by John of Procida, cried out to extirpate the enemy: upon which, they put every Frenchman they found in Palermo to the ſword. The fury, which poſſeſſed the breaſt of every native, produced the ſame effect throughout the whole Iſland. It is ſaid, they ripped open the bellies of pregnant women, and plucked out the fœtus as yet unformed; and that the very re-

maſſacred all the French in that Iſland, and Peter made himſelf maſter of it, under a pretence that it belonged to him, in right of his wife Conſtantia, as daughter of Manfred. Soon after, Charles died whilſt he was carrying on a new war for the recovery of it, leaving his ſon Charles the Second, in Sicily, where he had been taken priſoner during the courſe of that war, but was ſet at liberty upon his parole, that he would return to his confinement there at the expiration of three years, if he did not, before that time, prevail upon the Pope to confirm the Kingdom of Sicily to the Houſe of Arragon. Rodolphus the Emperor, inſtead of coming into Italy himſelf, to retrieve the reputation of the Imperial arms, ſent a commiſſary thither, with full power to emancipate ſuch cities as would buy their freedom: upon which many cities ranſomed themſelves, and changed their laws and form of government, when they had regained their liberty.

After this, Adolphus, Duke of Saxony, ſucceeded to the Empire, and Pietro del Murone (who aſſumed the name of Celeſtine) to the Papacy: but as he had been a Hermit, and was wholly given up to devotion, he abdicated the Pontificate at the end of ſix months, and Boniface VIII. was elected in his room. But Heaven ordaining that Italy ſhould one day be delivered from the yoke, both of the French and the Germans, and left entirely in the hands of her own ſons, graciouſly raiſed up the Colonni and Urſini, two great and very powerful families in Rome, to bridle the Popes, and keep them within

ligious themſelves murdered their female penitents of the French nation. It is likewiſe affirmed, that only one Gentleman, a Provençal, whoſe name was Des Porcellets, eſcaped the general ſlaughter. And yet it is very certain, that the governor of Meſſina, with all his garriſon, withdrew from the Iſland into the kingdom of Naples."

It would be no unpleaſant amuſement to compare thoſe parts of Voltaire's General Hiſtory that relate to the affairs of Italy, with this firſt book of the Hiſtory of Florence, which is only to be conſidered as a ſummary account. He illuminates thoſe dark times, which are the ſubject of it, with many ſtriking remarks and obſervations, in his uſual manner.

due

due bounds by their authority and near neighbourhood, and to prevent them, when freed from the terror of foreign enemies, from eſtabliſhing themſelves in the power they uſurped. Boniface, therefore, who was ſoon ſenſible of this thorn in his ſide, applied himſelf with great zeal and diligence to ſuppreſs the Colonni, firſt excommunicating, and then proclaiming a Cruſade againſt them, which indeed did them ſome injury, but was much more prejudicial to the Church: for thoſe ſwords which had been drawn to maintain and defend the chriſtian faith, and had done great and honourable ſervice, ſoon loſt their edge and became uſeleſs, when they were turned againſt Chriſtians, only to ſatiate private intereſt and ambition: ſo that by degrees, the Popes were left weak and defenceleſs. Two of the Colonni, who were Cardinals, he degraded: and Sciarra, the head of that family, flying from his fury in diſguiſe, was taken by Catalan Corſairs, and forced to row in their Gallies like a common ſlave; but being known at Marſeilles, he was ranſomed and ſent away to Philip, King of France, whom Boniface had excommunicated and deprived of his Kingdom. Upon this, Philip conſidering that in all open wars with the Popes, he had conſtantly been a loſer, and often in great danger of being utterly ruined, now reſolved to proceed in another manner, and to have recourſe to ſtratagem. In conſequence of which, he pretended to ſubmit, and entered into a treaty of reconciliation with the Pope: but whilſt it was carrying on, he privately ſent Sciarra into Italy, who arriving at Anagni (where the Pope then reſided) gathered his friends together in the night, ſeized upon his Holineſs's perſon, and made him priſoner. And though he was ſet at liberty again by the people of that town, yet ſuch was his rage and indignation at this diſgrace, that he died diſtracted ſoon after. This Boniface inſtituted the firſt Jubilee in the year 1300, and made a Decree that it ſhould be celebrated every hundred years *.

* It is ſaid of Boniface VIII. that he entered the Pontificate like a Fox, reigned like a Lion, and died like a Dog, as Celeſtine V his pre-

In theſe times, the diſcords between the Guelph and Ghibeline factions produced great troubles in Italy; which being abandoned by the Emperors, many States recovered their liberties, whilſt others, on the contrary, were ſeized upon, and uſurped by different maſters. Pope Benedict XI. reſtored the

deceſſor, had propheſied. He perſuaded Celeſtine, that he would certainly be damned if he did not reſign the Papacy to ſome perſon more capable of governing the church than himſelf. Upon which Celeſtine abdicated, and Benedict Caietano (as this Pontif was before called) having got himſelf elected Pope, immediately ſent Celeſtine to priſon, where he died. Platina ſays, that beſides his own perſuaſions, he bribed a perſon to ſpeak thus to him through a hole in the wall of his Oratory, by means of a hollow cane, "Celeſtine, Celeſtine, dimitte Papatum, ſi vis ſalvus fieri: negotium ſupra vires eſt," i. e. "Celeſtine, Celeſtine, reſign the Papacy, if thou haſt any regard for thy ſalvation; the burden is too heavy for thee:" which the ſimple good man, taking it for a voice from Heaven, immediately obeyed and abdicated.

He provoked Philip the Fair, of France, to ſuch a degree, by his haughty and inſolent behaviour, that he reſolved to compel him by force to appear before a council which he deſigned to aſſemble at Lyons; and for that purpoſe, ſent Sciarra Colonni into Italy, with William Nogaret his confidant, and one of his generals; who having treated with the Ghibelines, entered Anagni, where he then was, and took him. Hoffman ſays, that in a ſynod and parliament, called by Philip, he was accuſed of Simony, Murder, Uſury, Atheiſm, Adultery, and underhand treaties with the Saracens. When he was taken by Nogaret, the French general, who threatened to carry him to Lyons, where he ſhould be degraded by the council: he ſaid, "he was not to be frightened at the threats of a Paterin." Upon which, the ſaid general ſtruck him on the face with his gauntlet, and taking him by the neck, forced him to Rome, where he died ſoon after, frantick, and gnawing his fleſh off his hands with his teeth. Spanheim adds, that when his Bull arrived in France, in which he aſſerted, that he was ſupreme Lord in all temporal, as well as ſpiritual concerns, and that Philip held his kingdom of him; the ſame was publickly burnt by order of the Parliament of Paris, and by the aſſembly of the States of the Kingdom that ſame year, who vehemently proteſted againſt the Papal uſurpations and encroachments in the reſervation and collation of Benefices, taxing the Clergy, &c. and that the king wrote thus to him, in anſwer to his Letter: "Philippus Dei gratiâ Francorum Rex, Bonifacio ſe gerenti pro ſummo Pontifice, ſalutem modicam ſeu nullam. Sciat maxima tua Fatuitas, in Temporalibus nos alicui non ſubeſſe, Eccleſiarum & Præbendarum Collationem ad nos jure regio pertinere, &c. ſecus autem credentes fatuos & dementes reputamus." i. e. "Philip, by the Grace of God, King of France, to Boniface, the pretended Pope, little or no greeting. Be it known unto your Fooliſhneſs, that we are ſubject to none in Temporals, and that the Collation to Churches and Prebends belongs to us alone by our royal prerogative; and thoſe who think otherwiſe, we account fools and madmen, &c." This Pope was a man of learning, and publiſhed many works, which are ſtill extant.

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Houſe of Colonni to their former dignity, and not only abſolved King Philip, but gave him his bleſſing. He was ſucceeded in the Papal Chair by Clement V who being a Frenchman, removed his Court into France, in the year 1306 *. In the mean time, Charles the Second, King of Naples, was dead, and had left the Kingdom to his ſon Robert. The Empire alſo was devolved to Henry of Luxembourg, who came to Rome to be crowned, though the Pope was not there. Upon his arrival, many commotions enſued in Lombardy: for all the baniſhed perſons, whether Guelphs or Ghibelines, were returned to their former habitations, and daily conſpiring to ſuppreſs each other; which filled all that province with tumult and diſtraction, notwithſtanding the emperor uſed his utmoſt endeavours to prevent it.

Removing therefore out of Lombardy, by way of Genoa, he came to Piſa, with a deſign to have driven King Robert out of Tuſcany; but not ſucceeding in that, he went to Rome, where he ſtaid but a few days: for the Urſini, with the aſſiſtance of King Robert, forced him to return to Piſa; where, in order to make war with greater ſecurity and convenience upon Tuſcany, and to wreſt the government of it out of Robert's hands, he cauſed it to be invaded on the other ſide by Frederick, King of Sicily. But

* At the coronation of this Pontif, in the Church of St. Juſtus at Lyons, November 14, 1305, where Philip the Fair, Charles of Valois his brother, and ſeveral other Princes aſſiſted, a Gallery that was overloaded with ſpectators, broke down, and killed John II. Duke of Bretagne, Gaillard (the Pope's brother) and many others: the King and his brother likewiſe were much hurt; the tiara fell from Clement's head; and a jewel of great price was loſt out of it; from whence the omen-dealers of thoſe times, formed a ſad preſage, as it is ſaid, of the misfortunes that befel Italy in his reign by the civil wars, occaſioned by his removing the See to Avignon, where it remained ſeventy years; a period called by the Italians, "the Captivity of Babylon." Poſſevin. Genebrard.

Juſt ſuch another preſage was formed by ſome Engliſh Seers, when our King Charles the Firſt's ſtandard was blown down at Nottingham, and the head of his cane fell off at his trial.—Sad preſages indeed, and ſad preſagers! yet theſe circumſtances, trivial as they are, have not been thought unworthy of relation by ſome of our hiſtorians of the firſt rank.

in the midſt of theſe deſigns, and at a time when he had the greateſt hopes of ſucceſs, he ſuddenly died, and was ſuceeeded in the empire by Lewis of Bavaria. About this time, John the Twenty-ſecond * was created Pope, in whoſe Pontificate the Emperor carried on a continual perſecution againſt the Guelphs and the Church: but King Robert and the Florentines interpoſing in their defence, great wars enſued in Lombardy, under the conduct of the Viſconti, againſt the Guelphs; and under that of Caſtruccio Caſtracani, of Lucca, againſt the Florentines in Tuſcany. And as the family of the Viſconti were the founders of the Dukedom of Milan, which was afterwards one of the five principal States in Italy, it may not be amiſs perhaps to trace their original a little higher.

After the aforementioned confederacy amongſt the cities of Lombardy, for their common defence againſt Frederick Barbaroſſa, Milan riſing again out of its ruins, likewiſe entered into that league, to take revenge for the injuries it had ſuſtained: which put a ſtop to the Emperor's career, and for a while ſupported the Pope's party in Lombardy. In the courſe of thoſe wars, the family of the Torri grew very pow-

* After the death of Clement V. the See continued vacant above two years: for the Cardinals, aſſembled at Carpentras, could not agree in the choice of a new Pope. Philip the Long, therefore, Earl of Poictiers, and afterwards King of France, by order of his brother Lewis X. went to Lyons, to get the Chair filled if poſſible: for which purpoſe, after he had uſed all the art and addreſs he was maſter of, with the Cardinals there, he at laſt ſhut them up in a convent of the Jacobines, and proteſted he would never let them out till they had choſen a Pope. At the end of forty days, they began to be ſo tired of their confinement, that they agreed to leave the choice to Cardinal James d'Oſſa, Biſhop of Port, who immediately ſaid, "Ego ſum Papa;" "then I'll be your Pope;" to the general ſatisfaction of all the reſt. He was a native of Cahors in Querci, and ſon of Arnaud d'Oſſa, a poor Shoemaker; but a man well learned for thoſe times, eſpecially in the Civil and Canon Law. It is ſaid, he left twenty-eight millions of Ducats, and ſeventeen hundred thouſand Florins of gold in the treaſury of the Church, when he died. He publiſhed an Edict in 1322, wherein he declared all thoſe obſtinate Hereticks, who affirmed, "that Chriſt and his Diſciples had nothing which they could call their own; and forbad all diſputes upon that point in the ſchools." Nauclerus. Du Cheſne.

erful,

erful, increaſing their reputation more and more every day, whilſt the authority of the Emperors was of no great weight in thoſe parts. But Frederick the Second coming into Italy, and the Ghibeline faction being reinforced by the aſſiſtance of Ezelino, began to gain ground in all the cities, and particularly at Milan, where the Houſe of Viſconti ſiding with that party, drove the Torri out of that city. But they did not long continue in that condition; for by an agreement made betwixt the Emperor and the Pope, they were ſuffered to return thither: And afterwards, when the Pope was removed with his court into France, and Henry of Luxembourg came to Rome to be crowned, he was received into Milan by Maffeo Viſconti and Guido della Torre, who at that time were the heads of thoſe two families.

Notwithſtanding this, Maffeo ſecretly deſigned to avail himſelf of the Emperor's preſence to drive Guido out of the City once more, which he thought would be no difficult matter, as he was an enemy to the Imperial faction: for which purpoſe he took advantage of the murmurs and complaints of the People againſt the inſolent behaviour of the Germans, privately encouraging and perſuading them to take up arms and free themſelves from the yoke of thoſe Barbarians. After he had diſpoſed things in a proper manner for the execution of his deſign, he cauſed a tumult to be raiſed by one of his confidants: upon which, the whole town was immediately in an uproar againſt the Germans. And no ſooner was the tumult begun, but Maffeo, with his ſons, ſervants, and partiſans were in arms, and ran to the Emperor, aſſuring him it was raiſed by the Torri, who, not content to live in a private condition, fomented theſe inſurrections, in order to wreſt the city of Milan out of his hands, by which they thought to ingratiate themſelves with the Guelphs, and ſo become Princes of it: exhorting him at the ſame time, however, to be of good courage, for they and their friends were both able and ready to defend him at all events, provided he

was not wanting to himſelf. The Emperor believing every thing to be true that Maffeo had inſinuated, immediately joined his forces with thoſe of the Viſconti, and fell upon the Torri, who were diſperſed up and down the city to compoſe the tumult: and having killed ſuch of them as fell into their hands, they baniſhed the reſt and ſeized upon their eſtates. So that Maffeo Viſconti having by theſe means made himſelf, as it were, Prince of Milan, was ſucceeded in the government of it by Galeazzo and Azzo; and they by Luchino and Giovanni, the latter of whom was afterwards Archbiſhop of that city. Luchino died firſt and left two ſons, Bernabo and Galeazzo. Galeazzo dying not long after, left one ſon named Giovanni Galeazzo, commonly called the Count di Virtù, who, after the death of the Archbiſhop, treacherouſly murdered his uncle Bernabo, made himſelf ſole Prince, and was the firſt that took upon him the title of Duke of Milan *. He left two ſons, Philip and Giovanni Maria Angelo, the latter of whom was killed by the people of Milan: ſo that the government fell into the hands of Philip alone, and he dying without male iſſue, the Dukedom was transferred from the Houſe of the Viſconti to that of the Sforza's; the manner and occaſion of which ſhall be more particularly related in its proper place. In the mean time we muſt reſume the thread of our narration.

Lewis the Emperor came into Italy to encourage his party and to receive the Crown: and wanting a handle to extort money from the Milaneſe, whilſt he was there, he pretended he would leave them to en-

* The archbiſhop was much ſuch another monſter as Ezelino, and the Count was very little better; yet he was called a Saint. Philip de Comines ſays, Mem. l. vii. p. 451. That when he was at Pavia, the Carthuſians ſhewed him his body, at leaſt his bones, depoſited in a place near the chancel, and higher than the chief altar in their Convent, to which they went up by a ladder; and one of them calling him Saint, he aſked him ſoftly, why he gave him that title, ſince he could ſee the arms of ſeveral Cities painted round his tomb, that he had either uſurped, or had no right to? In anſwer to which, the Friar whiſpered in his ear, "in this country we give the title of Saint to all from whom we receive any benefit."

joy

joy their former liberties, and actually threw the Viſconti into priſon. But afterwards, at the mediation of Caſtruccio Caſtracani of Lucca, he releaſed them, marched forwards to Rome, and made Pietro della Corvara Antipope, (on purpoſe to create freſh troubles and diſturbances in Italy) by whoſe authority and the power of the Viſconti, he thought he ſhould be ſtrong enough to humble his enemies both in Tuſcany and Lombardy. But the death of Caſtruccio, which happened juſt at that time, put an end to his hopes, and gave a fatal turn to his affairs. for Piſa and Lucca immediately rebelled upon it, and the Piſans ſeizing upon the Antipope, ſent him priſoner to the Pope in France: ſo that the Emperor, deſpairing of his affairs in Italy, ſoon quitted it and returned into Germany. He was hardly gone before John, King of Bohemia, came into Italy with an army, at the invitation of the Ghibelines of Breſcia, and took poſſeſſion both of that city and Bergamo. The Pope (how well ſoever he diſſembled it) was not diſpleaſed at his coming, and therefore his Legate at Bologna, privately favoured him, looking upon him as a proper inſtrument to prevent the Emperor's return. Theſe proceedings entirely changed the condition and circumſtances of Italy: for the Florentines and King Robert, ſeeing that the Legate privately abetted the attempts of the Ghibeline faction, declared themſelves enemies to all ſuch as were favoured by the Legate and the King of Bohemia: and many Princes without regard to either faction, aſſociated themſelves with them, amongſt whom were the families of Viſconti and Scali *, Philip Gonzaga of Mantua, and thoſe of Carrara and Eſte; for which the Pope excommunicated them all, and the King being terrified at this confederacy, went home again to

* Theſe Scali were Princes of Verona, and the anceſtors of Joſeph and Julius Cæſar Scaliger, ſo well known to the world for their great erudition and many admirable works. Joſeph had a patent from the French King, in which he is acknowledged the right heir to Julius, and Julius owned as Prince of Verona.

raiſe

raiſe more forces. But at his return into Italy with a larger army, he ſtill found the enterprize ſo difficult that he abandoned it, and marched back into Bohemia, though much to the diſſatisfaction of the Legate, leaving garriſons only in Reggio and Modena, and recommending Parma to the care of Marſilio and Pietrio de Roſſi, two of the moſt powerful men in that city. As ſoon as he was gone, Bologna likewiſe entered into the league, and the confederates divided the four cities that ſtill adhered to the Church amongſt themſelves: the Scali had Parma, the Gonzagi Reggio, the Eſti Modena, and Lucca fell to the Florentines. But many differences enſued upon this partition, which, for the moſt part, were afterwards compoſed by the Venetians.

It may ſeem ſtrange perhaps to ſome, that amongſt all the other occurrences and revolutions which happened in Italy, I have not made any mention of the Venetians before, although their power and rank place them above any other republic or principality in that country. But to put an end to their wonder, and to ſhew my reaſons for this omiſſion, it is neceſſary to look a good way back; that ſo the origin, and foundation of that ſtate may be the more clearly known to every one, and what were the motives that ſo long reſtrained them from interfering in the affairs of Italy.

Attila, King of the Huns, having laid ſiege to Aquileia, the inhabitants after an obſtinate defence, being reduced to great diſtreſs, and deſpairing of relief, abandoned the town, and removed with as many of their effects as they could, to ſome uninhabited rocks at the extremity of the Adriatic. The Paduans alſo, ſeeing the fire ſo near them, and concluding, that after Aquileia was taken, the next viſit would be to them, carried away their moſt valuable goods, together with their wives, children, and old men, to a place called * Rivo Alto upon the ſame

* That quarter of the city is ſtill called Rialto, where there is one of the fineſt arches in Europe thrown over the grand Canal.

coaſt,

coaſt, leaving the young men, and ſuch as were fit to bear arms, for the defence of the city. The inhabitants of Monfelice and the hills about it, being under the ſame apprehenſions, likewiſe retired to other little iſlands in that ſea. After Aquileia was taken, and Padua, Monfelice, Vicenza, and Verona, ſacked and deſtroyed by Attila, the remainder of the Paduans and the moſt conſiderable of the reſt ſettled in the marſhes about Rivo Alto; and all the people round that Province which was anciently called Venetia †, being driven out of their country by the ſame calamities, joined themſelves with them, forced by neceſſity to change their pleaſant and fertile habitations for rough and barren rocks, void of all comfort and convenience. However, as their number was large, and their territories but ſtrait, they ſoon made them not only habitable but delightful, and framing wholeſome laws and ordinances amongſt themſelves, lived ſo happily and ſecurely, whilſt the reſt of Italy was torn to pieces, that in a ſhort time they became very powerful and reſpectable. For, beſides the above mentioned inhabitants, many other people reſorted to them from the cities of Lombardy, who were driven away from thence by the inhumanity of Cleſi, King of the Lombards: by which they grew ſo ſtrong, that when Pepin, King of France, at the ſollicitation of the Pope, undertook to drive the Lombards out of Italy, it was ſtipulated in the treaty betwixt him and the eaſtern Emperor, that the Duke of Benevento and the Venetians ſhould not be ſubject either to one or the other, but ſuffered by both to enjoy their liberties. Beſides, as neceſſity had fixed their habitation amongſt the waters, and they had not lands ſufficient to ſupply them with the conveniencies of life, it forced them to have recourſe to navigation for ſubſiſtence: by which they filled their city with ſuch variety of merchandize from all parts of the world, that other people who had occaſion for

† This country was formerly conquered, and ſo named, by a people who came from Vennes, in Bretagne.

it,

it, repaired thither in great numbers to furnish themselves. For many years therefore, they had no thoughts of any further dominion than what might serve to facilitate and extend their commerce: for which purpose, they bought several Ports in Greece and Syria; and the French often making use of their shipping to transport their forces into Asia, gave them the Island of Candia in return. In this manner, by degrees, their name became formidable at sea, and so much respected at land, that in almost all disputes betwixt the neighbouring States, they were called in as arbitrators: as it happened in the differences that arose betwixt the Confederates about the towns that were to be divided amongst them; which being referred to the Venetians, Bergamo and Brescia were awarded to the Visconti. But growing more ambitious after a while, they first seized upon Padua, Vicenza, Trevigi, and then upon Verona, Bergamo, and Bresci, besides many other cities in Romagna and the Kingdom of Naples; by which they became so considerable, that not only the Italian Princes, but those on the other side the mountains grew jealous of their power, and entered into a league against them, which in one day took from them all that they had been many years in acquiring with infinite industry and expence. And though they have lately in our times recovered part of their former dominions; yet as they have not likewise regained their ancient power and reputation, they now lie at the mercy of others: which indeed is the case at present of all the Italian Princes.

The Pontifical chair was filled at this time by Benedict the Twelfth, who looked upon Italy as lost; and being apprehensive that Lewis the Emperor would become absolute master of it, he resolved to make all such his friends there as usurped any territories that formerly were subject to the Empire; imagining that the fear of being dispossessed of them by the Emperor, would make them ready to join him heartily in defending Italy. For this purpose, he pub-

publiſhed a Decree to confirm all the uſurped titles and eſtates in Lombardy to thoſe that were then in poſſeſſion of them: but before this grant had time to operate, he died and was ſucceeded by Clement the Sixth. The Emperor therefore obſerving how liberally the Pope had diſpoſed of the States that belonged to the Empire, that he might not be behind hand with him in ſuch ſort of generoſity, likewiſe gave away all the States which had been uſurped from the Church, to be held of the Empire by the preſent poſſeſſors. By which donation, Galeotto Malateſta and his brothers became Lords of Rimini, Peſaro, and Fano; Gentile da Varano, of Camerino; Guido da Polenta, of Ravenna; Sinibaldo Ordelaffi, of Forli and Ceſena; Giovanni Manfredi, of Faenza; Ludovico Alidoſi of Imola; and many more, of other places: ſo that of all the lands belonging to the Church, there were hardly any left without a new maſter: which reduced the Church to the low condition it was in till the days of Alexander the Sixth, who, in our times, drove the poſterity of thoſe intruders out of their poſſeſſions, to their utter ruin, and reſtored it to its former ſplendor and authority.

At the time of this donation, the Emperor was at Trent, and gave out, that he would come into Italy; which was the occaſion of great commotions in Lombardy; where the Viſconti made themſelves maſters of Parma. Not long after, Robert King of Naples died, and left only two grand-daughters, (the children of his ſon Charles, who died but a little while before) the eldeſt of which, Giovanna, or Joan, according to his will was to inherit the crown, on condition that ſhe married Andrew his nephew, and ſon to the King of Hungary, which ſhe did: but they did not live long together, for ſhe put him to death, and married Lewis, Prince of Taranto, who was alſo her couſin. Upon which, Andrew's brother Lewis, King of Hungary, came into Italy, with an army, to revenge his death, and drove Giovanna and her huſband out of their Kingdom.

About

About this time, a very memorable event happened at Rome. One * Niccolo di Lorenzo, Chancellor of the Capitol, turned the Senator's out of the city, and aſſuming the title of Tribune, made himſelf head of that Commonwealth, and reduced it to its ancient form of government, with ſo much reputation and appearance of juſtice, that not only the neighbouring States, but all Italy, ſent Ambaſſadors to him: and ſeveral of the remoter Provinces ſeeing their old Metropolis exert itſelf in this manner, began to lift up their heads again, and ſome out of fear, others out of hope, endeavoured to ſhew it all manner of reſpect. But Niccolò, notwithſtanding the extraordinary reputation he had acquired, was ſoon obliged to quit his new office; for as he found himſelf not equal to ſo great a weight, he privately retired without any compulſion, to ſhelter himſelf under the wings of Charles, King of Bohemia, who, by the Pope's mandate, had been elected Emperor, in oppoſition to Lewis of Bavaria. That Prince, however, inſtead of affording him an aſylum as he expected, ſent him priſoner to Rome, out of complaiſance to the Pope, from whom he had received ſo great favours. Not long after, one Franciſco Baroncegli, in imitation of Niccolò,

* His proper name was Niccolò Gabrini di Lorenzo, or Rienzi. There is a circumſtantial and very remarkable narrative of this conſpiracy, written in French, by the Fathers Brumoy and Cerceau, in 8vo. and publiſhed in Engliſh about ſeven or eight years ago: from the preface of which take the following extract: "To be told, that the ſon of a ſmall Innkeper and of a Waſherwoman, raiſed himſelf to ſovereign Power, muſt appear ſtrange: that he did this without any regular gradation, and almoſt in an inſtant, muſt ſeem ſtill ſtranger; that he atchieved this without any patron, and almoſt without any aſſiſtance, has yet more of the marvellous: that he did it purely by dint of parts, and ſupported what was called, and in the end became really, tyranny, rather by eloquence than force, riſes higher ſtill: but when it is added, that being degraded, delivered up to the power againſt which he had rebelled, he ſhould, by the bare exertion of the ſame talents, not only eſcape puniſhment, but induce that power to deliver him out of priſon, and to replace him in the high ſtation from which he had fallen, ſeems altogether incredible. The following ſheets however, undeniably prove that all this actually happened, and much more: ſo that in effect, though a true hiſtory, it diſtances in point of wonder, even the boldeſt fictions in Romance."

 poſ-

poſſeſſed himſelf of the Tribuneſhip, and once more drove the ſenators out of the city: ſo that the Pope, as the readieſt way to ſuppreſs him, ſet Niccolò at liberty, and not only ſent him to Rome, but reinſtated him in his former office: upon which, he reſumed the government of the city, and cauſed Franciſco to be put to death. But as the Colonni took offence at his manner of proceeding, he himſelf, not long after, underwent the ſame fate, and the Senators were reſtored to their ancient authority.

In the mean time, the King of Hungary having depoſed Queen Giovanna, returned to his own Kingdom. But the Pope, who rather choſe to have the Queen for a neighbour, than that King, ſo contrived matters, that the kingdom was reſtored to her, upon condition, that her huſband Lewis ſhould renounce the title of King, and be content with that of the *Prince of Taranto*. The year 1350 being come, his Holineſs reſolved that the Jubilee, inſtead of being held every hundredth year, as had been ordained by Pope Boniface the Eighth, ſhould be celebrated every fiftieth; and having paſſed a decree for that purpoſe, the Romans, out of gratitude for ſo great a Benefaction, conſented that he ſhould ſend four Cardinals to reform their City, and make what Senators he thought fit *. After which he declared Lewis of Ta-

* The Jubilee is a feſtival year, celebrated with great ſolemnity by the Romiſh Church, when the Pope grants a plenary indulgence to all Sinners that viſit the Churches of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome. It was firſt inſtituted, as has been already ſaid, by Boniface VIII. about the year 1300, in favour of ſuch as ſhould come "ad limina Apoſtolorum;" and was to return only once in an hundred years, like the Ludi Sæculares of the antient Romans; at which time, the people were invited by a Cryer, "to come and ſee a ſight that no man living had ever ſeen, or ſhould ſee again." The firſt celebration of it ſo enriched the city of Rome, that it was called the Golden Year; which induced Clement VI. to reduce the period to fifty years. Urban VI. appointed it to be held every thirty-five years, that being the age of our Saviour when he was crucified: and Sixtus IV. brought it down to every twenty-fifth. Boniface IX. granted the privilege of holding Jubilees to ſeveral Princes and Monaſteries. The Monks of Canterbury had one every fifty years; when people flocked from all parts, to viſit the tomb of Thomas Becket. They are now become more frequent; and the Pope grants them as often as the Church, or

ranto,

ranto, King of Naples again; and Queen Giovanna, in return for that favour, gave Avignon to the Church, which was a part of her patrimony.

By this time, Luchino Viſconti being dead, Giovanni, Archbiſhop of Milan, remained ſole Lord of that city; and making ſeveral wars upon Tuſcany, and the neighbouring States, became very conſiderable. After his deceaſe, the government devolved to his two nephews, Bernabo and Galeazzo: but Galeazzo dying ſoon after, left his ſon Giovanni Galeazzo to ſhare the State with his uncle. Charles, King of Bohemia, was now made Emperor, and Innocent the Sixth, Pope; who, having ſent Cardinal Egidius, a

himſelf, have occaſion for them. There is uſually one at the inauguration of every new Pontif.

To be entitled to the privileges of the Jubilee, the Bull enjoins faſting, alms, and prayers. It gives a prieſt full power to abſolve in all caſes, even in thoſe that are otherwiſe reſerved to the Pope, to commute for vows, &c. in which it differs from a plenary Indulgence. During the time of the Jubilee, all other Indulgences are ſuſpended.

One of our Kings, Edward III. cauſed his birth-day to be obſerved in the manner of a Jubilee, when he became fifty years of age, but not before or after. He releaſed all priſoners, pardoned all offences except treaſon, made good laws, and granted many privileges to the people.

There are particular Jubilees in certain cities, when ſeveral of their feſtivals happen on the ſame day: at Puy en Velay, for inſtance, when the feaſt of the Annunciation happens on Good Friday; and at Lyons, when St. John Baptiſt's day falls on the Feſtival of Corpus Chriſti. In 1644, the Jeſuits celebrated a ſolemn Jubilee at Rome; that being the centenary, or hundredth year, from the inſtitution of their Order; and the ſame Ceremony was obſerved in all their Convents throughout the world.

Jubileus or Jubilæus, is uſed amongſt the Romaniſts to ſignify a Religious that has been fifty years in a monaſtery, or an Eccleſiaſtic, who has been in Orders fifty years. Such veterans are diſpenſed with in ſome places, from attending Matins, or a ſtrict obſervation of any other of their rules. The word is alſo extended to any man that is an hundred years old, and to a poſſeſſion of fifty. "Si ager non inveniatur in ſcriptione, inquiratur de ſenioribus, quantum temporis fuerit cum altero; & ſi ſub certo Jubilæo manſerit ſine vituperatione, maneat in æternum"—ſay the Lawyers.

Petrarch, who was cotemporary with this Pope (Clement VI.) ſays, he was a very learned man, and makes particular mention of his extraordinary memory, which retained every thing with that exactneſs, that he had not ſo much as the power of forgetfulneſs: and what is ſtill more remarkable, he ſays, this prodigious memory was acquired by a dangerous fall, the ſcars of which remained upon his head as long as he lived.

Spa-

Spaniard, into Italy, retrieved the reputation of the Church, by his virtue and good conduct, not only in Rome and Romagna, but all over Italy. He recovered Bologna, which had been usurped by the Archbishop of Milan; and forced the Romans to admit a foreign Senator every year, of the Pope's appointment. He made an honourable accommodation with the Visconti. He routed and took prisoner one John Aguto, or Augut, an Englishman, who was come into Tuscany with four thousand forces of that nation, to the assistance of the Ghibelines. After which, Urban the Fifth succeeded to the Pontificate, resolved to visit Italy and Rome itself, where Charles the Emperor came to meet him: and, after a stay of some months, Charles returned into Bohemia, and the Pope to Avignon.

Gregory the Twelfth * succeeded Urban, and Cardinal Egidius being now dead, Italy relapsed into its former distractions, which were chiefly occasioned by a confederacy against the Visconti. The Pope therefore sent a Legate into Italy with six thousand Bretons, whom he followed in person, and brought back his court with him to Rome, in the year 1376, after it had resided in France for the space of 71 years. When this Pontif died, Urban the Sixth was created Pope: and not long after, ten of the Cardinals complaining of an unfair Election, chose Clement the Seventh at Fondi. In the mean time the Genoese rebelled, after they had lived quietly many years under the government of the Visconti, and there were great wars betwixt them and the Venetians about the Island of Tenedos, in which all Italy by degrees became concerned: and in these wars the use of Cannon was

* Machiavel says Gregory XII. but it is a mistake; as indeed there are many in all the chronological tables of the Popes: some inserting the Antipopes, and others omitting them. There are great disputes also amongst the learned about the time of the choice and decease of several Pontifs. Those that have wrote the best upon this subject, are our two learned Countrymen, Dr. John Pearson, and Mr. Henry Dodwell, in their dissertations upon the Succession of the first Bishops of Rome, and in the Annales Cyprianici, written by the former.

firſt * introduced, which had been lately invented by the Germans. The Genoeſe prevailed at firſt, and kept Venice blocked up for ſeveral months; but the Venetians got the better in the end, and made an honourable peace with them, by the mediation of the Pope.

In the year 1381 there was a ſchiſm in the Church (as we have ſaid before) and Queen Giovanna took part with the Antipope. Upon which, Pope Urban ſet an invaſion on foot againſt her, and ſent Carlo Durazzo, a deſcendant of the royal houſe of Naples, with an army, into her Kingdom, who ſoon poſſeſſed himſelf of it, and drove her into France; which ſo provoked the King of that nation, that he ſent Lewis of Anjou into Italy to reinſtate the Queen, to force Urban out of Rome, and to ſet up the Antipope. But Lewis dying before all this could be accompliſhed, his army diſperſed and returned into France; at which the Pontif took courage and went in perſon to Naples, where he threw nine Cardinals into priſon for having ſided with France and the Antipope. After this, he was affronted with the King for refuſing to make one of his nephews Prince of Capua: but concealing his reſentment, he deſired he would give him leave to reſide at Nocera for a while; which being granted, he preſently fortified himſelf there, and began to concert meaſures for depriving him of the whole Kingdom. But the King taking the alarm, advanced againſt Nocera and laid ſiege to it; from whence the Pope, however, made his eſcape and got to Genoa, where he put the Cardinals to † death that were his priſoners, and then returning to Rome,

* Larrey makes braſs cannon the invention of J. Owen; and ſays, the firſt that were known in England, were in 1535. Cannon, however, he owns were known long before; and obſerves, that there were five pieces in the Engliſh army at the battle of Creſſi, in 1346, which were the firſt that had been ſeen in France. Mezeray alſo ſays, that King Edward the Third ſtruck a terror into the French army, by five or ſix pieces of cannon, as it was the firſt time they had ever ſeen ſuch dreadful engines.

† He cauſed them to be ſewed up in bags, and thrown into the Sea.

created

created twenty-eight new ones to ſtrengthen his party. Carlo went into Hungary, was proclaimed King there, and died ſoon after, having left his wife at Naples, and two children whom he had by her, one named Ladiſlaus, the other Giovanna.

In the mean time, Giovanni Galeazzo Viſconti had killed his uncle Bernabo, and ſeized upon the State of Milan; and not being content with having made himſelf ſole maſter of all Lombardy, he formed a deſign upon Tuſcany alſo: but juſt at a time when he flattered himſelf with the greateſt hopes of ſucceeding in that enterprize, and of being afterwards crowned King of Italy, he died. Urban the Sixth was ſucceeded by Boniface the Ninth, Clement the Seventh, the Antipope likewiſe died at Avignon; and Benedict the Thirteenth was elected in his room.

All this while Italy was full of ſoldiers of different nations, as Engliſh, Germans, and Bretons; ſome of them, introduced by thoſe Princes, who, upon ſeveral occaſions, and at various times, had been invited thither, and others ſent by the Popes when they reſided at Avignon. With theſe foreign troops the Italian Princes had, for the moſt part, carried on their wars; till at laſt Ludovico da Conto, a native of Romagna, trained up a body of Italians, and called them St. George's Bands, whoſe valour and diſcipline much diminiſhed the reputation of the foreigners, and retrieved that of their own countrymen in ſuch a manner, that they were afterwards almoſt conſtantly employed by the Italian Princes in their wars. The Pope, upon ſome differences that aroſe betwixt him and the Romans, removed to Sceſi and continued there till the Jubilee that happened in the year 1400: at which time, the Romans, to invite him back again for the benefit of their city, once more conſented that he ſhould have the annual nomination of a foreign Senator, and be allowed to fortify the Caſtle of St. Angelo. Upon this condition he returned; and, to enrich the Church, he ordained that every Benefice, upon a vacancy, ſhould pay the firſt fruits,

or one years income, into the Ecclesiastical Chamber.

After the death of Giovanni Galeazzo, Duke of Milan, who left two sons, Giovanni-Maria-Angelo, and Philip, that State was divided into many factions: and in the troubles which ensued, the elder of them was killed, and Philip for some time kept prisoner in the castle of Pavia; from whence he at last made his escape by the favour and assistance of the Governor. Amongst others who seized upon cities that formerly belonged to his Father, was Guglielmo della Scala, who being banished had retired to Francisco da Carrara, Lord of Padua, by whose aid he recovered the State of Verona, though he did not long enjoy it; for the same Francisco caused him to be poisoned and assumed the government thereof himself. The péople of Vicenza, therefore, who till then had lived quietly and securely under the protection of the Visconti, seeing the Lord of Padua now grown so powerful, put themselves under the wings of the Venetians, who, at their instigation, made war upon him and drove him first out of Verona, and afterwards out of Padua.

About this time died Pope Boniface, and was succeeded by Innocent VII. to whom the people of Rome presented an address for the restitution of their forts and liberties; which being refused, they called in Ladislaus, King of Naples, to their assistance. But as their differences were afterwards accommodated, the Pope returned to Rome, from whence he had retired to Viterbo, for fear of the people; at the latter of which places he created his nephew Ludovico, Count della Marca, and soon after died. Gregory XII. succeeded him, on condition that he should resign the Papacy whenever the Antipope could be prevailed upon to do the same. In consequence of this, at the exhortation of the Cardinals, to try whether it was possible to reunite the Church, Benedict the Antipope came to Porto Veneri, and Gregory to Lucca, where many expedients were

were propoſed, but nothing concluded: upon which, the Cardinals on each ſide deſerting them both, Benedict retired into Spain, and Gregory to Rimini. Baldaſſare Coſſa, therefore, Cardinal and Legate of Bologna, encouraged the Cardinals to call a Council at Piſa, where they choſe Alexander V. who immediately excommunicated King Ladiſlaus, diſpoſed of his Kingdom to Lewis of Anjou, and, in confederacy with the Florentines, Genoeſe, Venetians, and Baldaſſare Coſſa, the Legate, fell upon him and drove him out of Rome. But whilſt this war was carrying on with great fury, Alexander died, and Coſſa the Legate being made Pope in his ſtead, aſſumed the name of John XXIII. and ſoon removed to Rome from Bologna (where he had been elected), in order to meet Lewis of Anjou, who was come thither with an army of Provencals. After he had joined him, they marched againſt Ladiſlaus, engaged, and routed his army; but, through the default of their commanders, they could not purſue their Victory: ſo that Ladiſlaus ſoon rallied his forces and recovered Rome, driving the Pope back to Bologna, and Lewis into Provence. The Pope therefore, contriving new means to reduce the power of Ladiſlaus, cauſed Sigiſmund, King of Hungary, to be elected Emperor, invited him into Italy, and had an interview with him at Mantua, where it was agreed betwixt them that a general council ſhould be aſſembled for re-uniting the Church; that ſo it might be the better able to oppoſe the attempts of its enemies.

There were now three different Popes at the ſame time, Gregory, Benedict, and John, which kept the Church very low, both in power and reputation. The place appointed for the meeting of the council was Conſtance, a city in Germany, much againſt the inclination of Pope John: and though the principal reaſon, which had induced the Pope to have recourſe to a council, was removed by the death of Ladiſlaus, yet, as he had obliged himſelf to go to it, he could not well tell how to excuſe his abſence. However, in

a few months after his arrival at Conſtance, he was ſenſible of his error when it was too late, and endeavoured to have got privately away from thence; but being taken, he was impriſoned and forced to reſign the Papacy. Gregory, one of the Antipopes, alſo renounced his pretenſions, by an inſtrument drawn up for that purpoſe; but Benedict, the other, refuſed, and was condemned as an heretick. At laſt, finding himſelf utterly forſaken by all his Cardinals, he likewiſe reſigned, and the council choſe Otho, of the family of Colonni, Pope, who took the name of Martin V. by which the Church was re-united, after a ſchiſm that had laſted forty years, and ſeveral different Pontifs had reigned at the ſame time *.

* Benedict, ſays Voltaire, who had ſhewn much courage before, and had fought both by ſea and land, was very humble and reſigned when his ſentence was read to him, in priſon at Manheim, where the Emperor kept him cloſe confined three years, and cauſed him to be treated with ſuch ſeverity as rendered him more an object of compaſſion, than his crimes had expoſed him to the public hatred.

The fathers of the Council did not meet at firſt in order to depoſe him; their principal view ſeemed to be the reformation of the Church. This was chiefly the deſign of Gerſon and the other deputies of the univerſity of Paris. Complaints had been publickly made for the ſpace of two years againſt the Annats, the Exemptions, the reſervations, and the impoſitions of the Popes upon the clergy, to inrich the court of Rome; in ſhort, againſt all the vices with which the Church was at that time disfigured. But how did this reformation end? His ſucceſſor declared, in the firſt place, that no exemptions ſhould be granted without cognizance of the cauſe. 2. That the nature of the Benefices which had been united, ſhould be enquired into. 3. That the revenues of vacant Benefices ſhould be diſpoſed of according to law. 4. He made an ineffectual proviſion againſt Simony. 5. He ordained that all ſuch as had Benefices ſhould be diſtinguiſhed by the Tonſure. 6. He forbad the celebrating of Maſs in a lay habit. Theſe were the laws made by the moſt ſolemn aſſembly in the univerſe.—Gerſon, with great difficulty, obtained the condemnation even of the following propoſitions: That there are caſes in which the aſſaſſinating a perſon is a virtuous action; far more meritorious in a Knight than a Squire; and ſtill much more ſo in a Prince than a Knight. This doctrine of aſſaſſination had been publickly maintained by a Cordelier, whoſe name was Jean Petit, upon the murder of his Prince's own brother. The council for a long time, evaded Gerſon's petition; but at laſt, they were obliged to condemn this doctrine of murder, though without mentioning the Cordelier in particular.

John Huſs, and Jerome of Prague, were both condemned to the flames by this Council, for maintaining the doctrines of Wicliff, who had taught, that we muſt not believe any thing that was im-

Phi-

Philip Viſconti was then (as we have ſaid) confined in the caſtle of Pavia. But Fantino Cane (who, during the troubles in Lombardy, had made himſelf maſter of Vercelli, Alexandria, Novara, and Tortona, and amaſſed great riches) dying without children, left his wife Beatrice heir to his poſſeſſions; enjoining his friends to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to get her married to this Philip; by which match he became ſo powerful that he recovered Milan and all the reſt of Lombardy. But forgetting all obligations, as Princes uſually do, he accuſed his wife Beatrice of adultery, and put her to death: and finding himſelf now very ſtrong and potent, he began to think of making war upon Tuſcany, in order to execute the deſigns that

poſſible and contradictory to reaſon: that no accident can ſubſiſt without a ſubject; in a word, that the ſubſtance of bread and wine remains in the Euchariſt. He wanted likewiſe to aboliſh auricular confeſſion, indulgences, and the eccleſiaſtical hierarchy. It is remarkable, that the former of theſe two unhappy victims came thither with the Emperor's ſafe-conduct. And the latter, who was his diſciple and friend, and a man of much ſuperior eloquence and underſtanding, (though at firſt he had ſigned a renunciation of his maſter's doctrine) having heard with what magnanimity he had encountered death, was aſhamed to ſurvive him; he therefore made a public retraction, and was burnt. Poggio, the Florentine, Secretary to Pope John XIII. and one of the firſt reſtorers of Letters, who was preſent at his interrogatories and execution, ſays, he never heard any thing that ſo nearly approached to the eloquence of the Greeks and Romans, as the ſpeech which Jerome made to his judges. "He ſpoke, ſays he, like a Socrates, and walked to the kindled pile with as much chearfulneſs as the other drank the cup of hemlock."

Out of their aſhes aroſe a civil war; for the Bohemians, beſides other reproaches, upbraided the Emperor with having violated the law of nations. And not long after, when Sigiſmund aſpired to ſucceed his brother Wenceſlaus, in the kingdom of Bohemia, he found that, though he was Emperor of Germany, and King of Hungary, the death of two private men had precluded his acceſſion to the Bohemian throne. Their avengers were 40,000 men, whom the ſeverity of the Council had exaſperated to ſuch a degree, that they killed every prieſt they met. Their General, John, ſurnamed Ziſka, (which ſignifies blind of one eye) defeated Sigiſmund in ſeveral battles: and having loſt his other eye at laſt in an engagement, he ſtill continued to head his troops, giving directions to his officers, and aſſiſting in their councils. He ordered them to make a drum of his ſkin after he was dead, which they did; and theſe very remains of Ziſka inſpired the Bohemians with ſuch courage, and ſtruck ſuch a terror into the enemy, that it was ſixteen years before Sigiſmund made himſelf maſter of Bohemia, and then with great difficulty. Vide Voltaire's Gen. Hiſt. Vol. I. part. ii. from page 259 to page 373.

had been formed by his father Giovanni Galeazzo. Ladiſlaus, King of Naples, at his death, beſides his Kingdom, had alſo left his ſiſter Giovanna a formidable army commanded by the beſt and moſt experienced Generals in Italy: the chief of whom was Sforza of Contignuola, a perſon of very great fame for his valour and conduct in thoſe wars. She was no ſooner on the throne, but, to clear herſelf of the ſuſpicion of being too intimate with one Pandolphello, whom ſhe had brought up and preferred, ſhe married Giacopo della Marcia, a Frenchman, of royal extraction, upon condition that he ſhould content himſelf with being ſtyled Prince of Taranto, and leave the title and government of the Kingdom entirely to her*. But as ſoon as he arrived at Naples, the ſoldiery acknowledged him as their King; which occaſioned great quarrels and conteſts betwixt him and the Queen, wherein ſometimes one, and ſometimes the other had the better. At laſt, however, the Queen eſtabliſhed herſelf in the government, and became a bitter enemy to the Pope. Upon which, Sforza, to diſtreſs her and force her into a compliance with his own terms, immediately laid down his commiſſion and refuſed to ſerve her any longer. So that being diſarmed, as it were, all on a ſudden, and having no other remedy, ſhe applied for aſſiſtance in this extremity to Alphonſo, King of Arragon and Sicily, whom ſhe adopted for her ſon: and to command her forces, ſhe took into her pay Braccio da Montone, a ſoldier of no leſs eminence and reputation than Sforza,

* This Giovanna, or Joan, or Jane II. (Queen of Naples) as ſhe is called by different authors, married James of Bourbon, ſon of John Count de la Marche, to her ſecond huſband; who not being able to bear that ſhe ſhould continue her familiarities with Pandolpho Alopo, a handſome young Neapolitan whom ſhe had made her chamberlain, ordered his head to be cut off, and not only deprived her of all ſhare in the adminiſtration, but kept her in a manner locked up, and very ſeldom admitted her either into his company or bed: all which uſage ſhe diſſembled with great artifice, till ſhe found means at laſt to get the upperhand of him and drive him back again into France, where he ended his days in a monaſtery. Brantome. Vies des Dames illuſtres. p. 384. 388.

and

and hated by the Pope for having ſeized upon and uſurped Perugia, and ſeveral other towns that belonged to the Church. After this, a peace was concluded betwixt her and the Pope: but Alphonſo ſuſpecting ſhe would ſerve him as ſhe had done her huſband, ſecretly took meaſures to make himſelf maſter of all her fortreſſes, in which, however, he was prevented; for as ſhe was a woman of great ſubtlety and ſuſpected his intentions, ſhe was before-hand with him, and took care to fortify herſelf ſtrongly in the citadel of Naples. Jealouſies increaſing in this manner, they at laſt came to an open rupture; in the courſe of which, the Queen, by the aſſiſtance of Sforza, who had returned into her ſervice, got the better of Alphonſo, drove him out of Naples, entirely diſcarded him, and adopted Lewis of Anjou in his room; which gave riſe to new wars betwixt Braccio, who was now of Alphonſo's party, and Sforza, who was engaged for the Queen. In the proceſs of thoſe wars, Sforza was unfortunately drowned in paſſing the river Peſcara: by which accident the Queen was once more diſarmed in a manner, and would in all likelihood have been driven out of her Kingdom, if ſhe had not been aſſiſted by Philip Viſconti, Duke of Milan, who forced Alphonſo to return into Arragon. But Braccio not in the leaſt diſcouraged at his being abandoned by Alphonſo, ſtill carried on the war againſt the Queen, and laid ſiege to Aquila: upon which, the Pope, looking upon Braccio's greatneſs as likely to be of prejudice to the Church, took Franciſco, ſon of the late Sforza, into his pay; who marching with an army to the relief of * Aquila, engaged Braccio, and not only routed his forces, but killed him. Of Braccio's party there only remained Otho his ſon, from whom the Pope took Perugia, but left him the government of Montone; but he alſo was killed not long after in Romagna, in the ſervice of the Florentines: ſo that of all thoſe who

* The capital of Abruzzo, a Province in the Kingdom of Naples, which borders on the Gulph of Venice.

had fought under the banners of Braccio, Niccolò Piccinino was now in the greateſt reputation.

We have thus brought down our narrative in a ſummary manner, almoſt to the times we at firſt propoſed; and as the remainder of that period contains nothing conſiderable, except the war that the Florentines and Venetians were engaged in with Philip, Duke of Milan, which ſhall be related when we come to ſpeak more particularly of Florence; we ſhall proceed no farther in it than juſt to give a ſhort ſketch of Italy, as it then ſtood, with regard to its Princes and military Commanders. Amongſt the principal States, Queen Giovanna the Second held the Kingdom of Naples. Some towns of Ancona, the Patrimony of St. Peter, and Romania, were ſubject to the Church, and ſome to its Vicars, or others, that had ſeized upon them; as Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio, to the family of Eſte; Faenza to the Manfredi; Imola to the Alidoſi; Forli to the Ordelaffi: Rimini and Peſaro to the Malateſti; and Camerino to the Houſe of Varano. Lombardy was divided betwixt Duke Philip and the Venetians; all the reſt who had had any principality in that angle, being extinct, except the Houſe of Gonzaga, which governed Mantua at that time. The greater part of Tuſcany was under the Florentines: Lucca and Siena alone, lived under their own laws; the former governed by the Guinigi, the latter entirely free. The Genoeſe being ſometimes free, ſometimes under the dominion of the French, and ſometimes of the Viſconti, were of little account, and reckoned amongſt the loweſt and moſt inconſiderable States in Italy. And even thoſe of higher rank did not attend to the management of their wars themſelves, or carry them on with their own proper forces and commanders. Duke Philip confined himſelf chiefly to his apartment, and living a retired life, left all military affairs to be conducted by Commiſſaries. The Venetians, after they had began to get footing on the Continent, diſregarded their fleet, which had made them ſo formidable at Sea;

Sea; and, like the reſt of the Italian States, gave the command of their land forces to Foreigners. The Pope being a Spiritual Prince, and the Sovereign of of Naples a woman, were not ſo proper to command in perſon, and therefore were forced to do that by neceſſity, which others did out of weakneſs and indiſcretion. The Florentines lay under the ſame neceſſity; for their nobility being extinguiſhed by continual diſcords, and their Republic governed by ſuch as were bred up to a mercantile way of life, they were forced to ſubmit to the guidance and conduct of others: ſo that the armies of all the Italian States, were in the hands either of petty Princes, or of Adventurers, and Soldiers of Fortune, who had no eſtate or dominions of their own; the former of whom accepted thoſe commands, not out of any laudable ambition or deſire of fame, but merely to ſecure themſelves, and to live in greater affluence: and the latter having been bred up to the profeſſion of arms from their youth, and conſequently not able to turn their hands to any other employment, followed that way of life in hopes of gaining riches and reputation. The moſt eminent of theſe were, Carmignuola, Franciſco Sforza, Niccolò Piccinino, (who had been educated under Braccio) Agnolo della Pergola, Lorenzo, and Micheletto Attenduli, Tartaglia, Giaccopaccio, Ceccolino da Perugia, Niccolò da Tolentino, Guido Torello, Antonio del Ponte ad Era, and ſeveral others; amongſt whom may be reckoned thoſe Lords that have been already mentioned: to whom we may add, the Barons of Rome, the Urſini, the Colonni, and many more Lords and Gentlemen of Naples and Lombardy, who depending altogether upon war for their ſubſiſtence, had formed a ſort of combination, or private correſpondence amongſt themſelves, and reduced it into a trade, or ſyſtem, as it were; which was ſo dexterouſly managed by them, that when two States were at war, they were both almoſt ſure to be loſers at the end of it: by which means the art of war at laſt became ſo mean and contemptible, that any

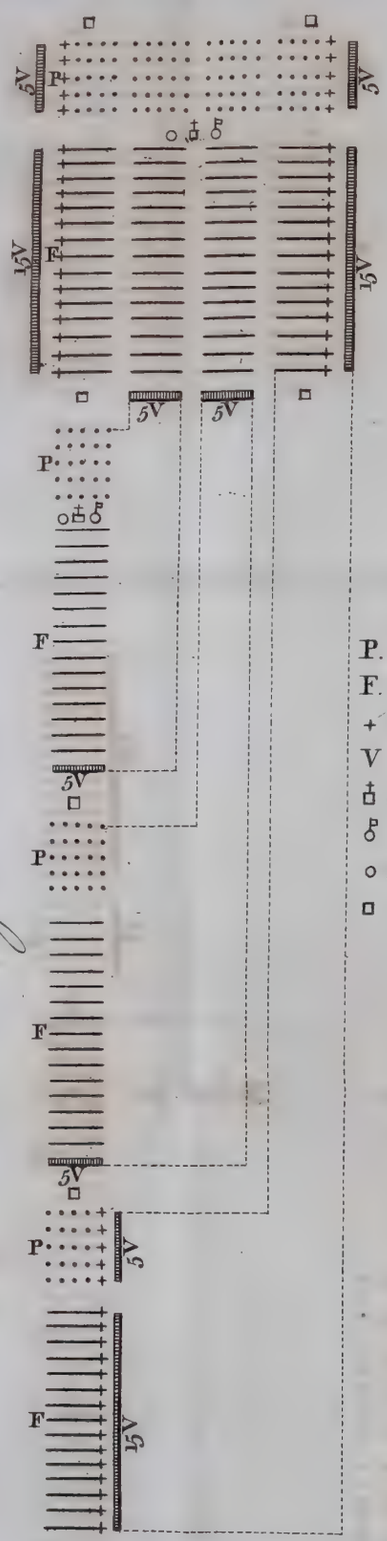
any common Captain, who had had but the leaſt ſpark of ancient valour, diſcipline, or experience, would have held thoſe very Gentlemen in the higheſt deriſion, who were then ſo ſtupidly admired and idolized by all Italy. The exploits of theſe lazy inactive Princes, and their pitiful Commanders, will be the chief ſubject of the following Hiſtory. But before I proceed any farther, I muſt, according to my promiſe, in the firſt place, deduce the Republic of Florence from its original, in order to give the Reader a clear view of its ſtate and condition in thoſe times, and ſhew by what means that city arrived at it, after the troubles and diſtractions in which Italy had been involved for the ſpace of a thouſand years.

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

Standard-bearer, appointed. The Nobility exhorted to peace.

To face p. 77. Vol. IV.

Figure First.



P. *Pikemen.*
F. *Target-men.*
+ *Corporals.*
V *Ordinary Velites.*
Colonel of a Battalion.
The Ensign.
○ *The Drum.*
□ *Captains.*

Figure Second. Vol. IV. p. 78.

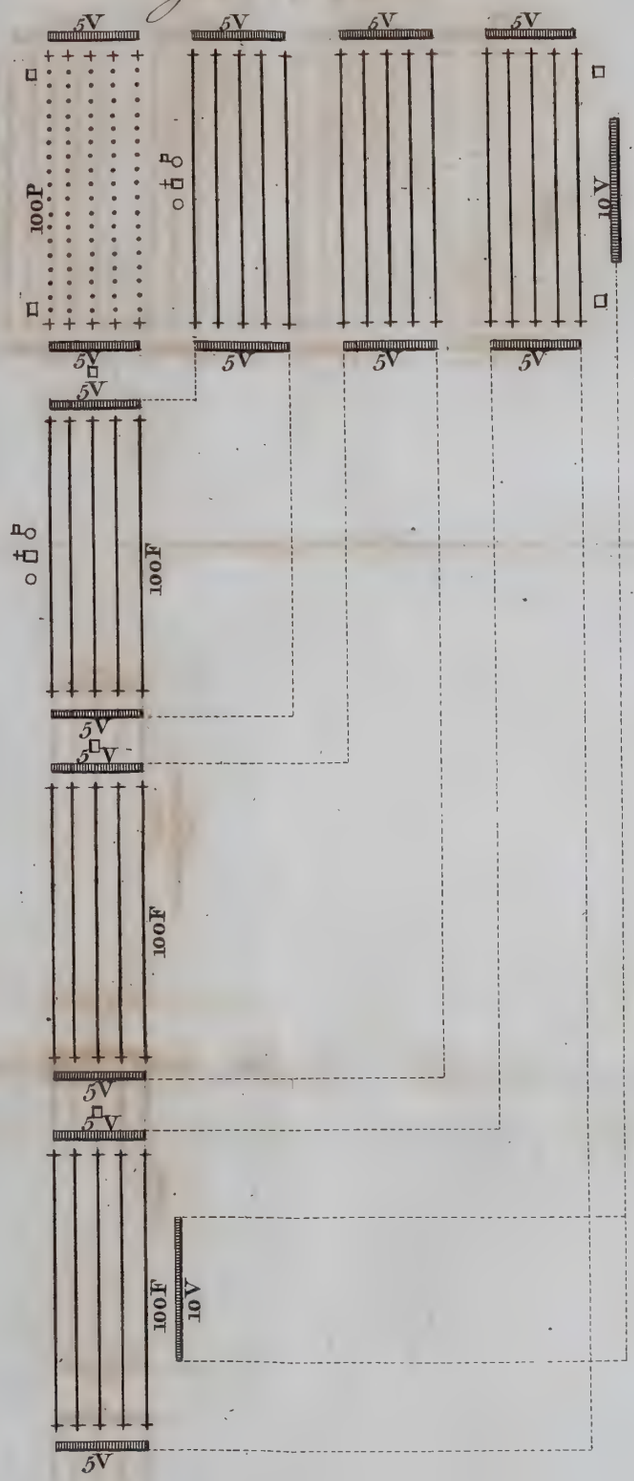
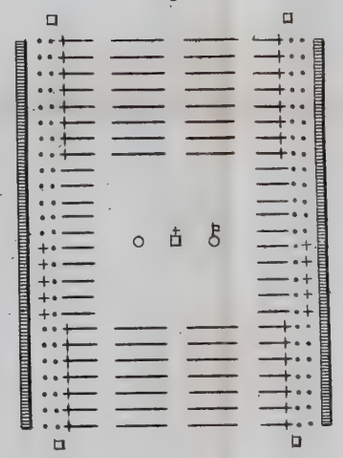
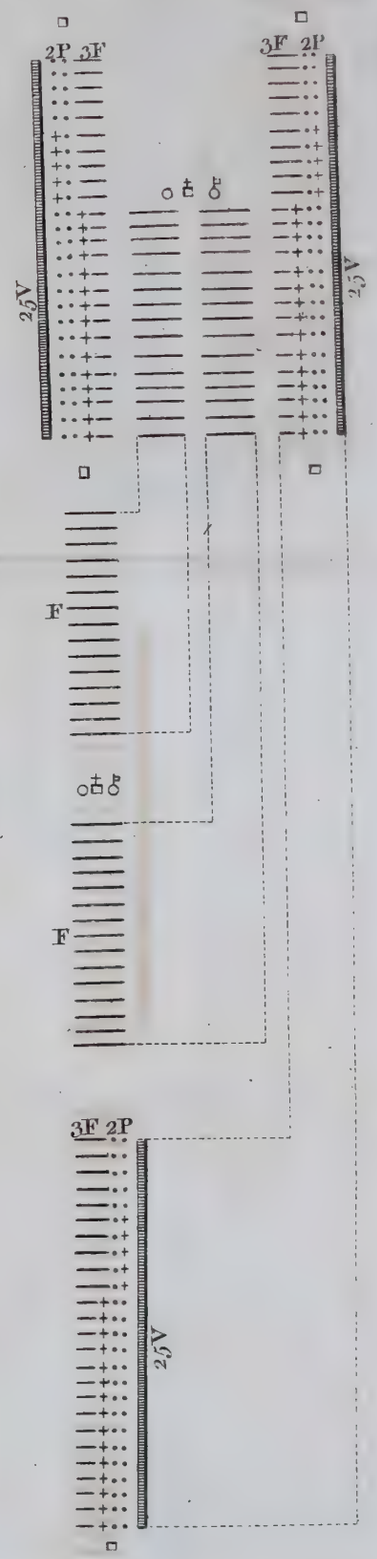


Figure Third. Vol. IV. p. 82.





THE

HISTORY

OF

FLORENCE.

BOOK II.

ARGUMENT.

The utility of Colonies. The original of Florence. Whence it took its name. The first division that happened in the City. The rise of the Guelph and Ghibeline factions. Their re-union, and the form of government established in Florence. The institution of the Anziani, the Captain of the People, and the Podestà. Their forces and generosity in time of war. Manfred, King of Naples, chief Patron of the Ghibelines. The Patriotism of Farinata Uberti. Charles of Anjou called into Italy by the Pope. A reform of the State in Florence. Fresh commotions. The government new modelled by the Guelphs. The twelve Buonhuomini *and the* Credenza *appointed. Gregory* X. *Pope. Florence under Excommunication. Innocent* V. *succeeds Gregory. The jealousy of the Popes. Nicholas* III. *Pope. The Ghibelines return from banishment. Martin, a Frenchman, elected Pope. The Government reformed by the Citizens. The institution of three* Priori *to govern for two months, and to be chosen indifferently out of the Citizens. The* Signiory. *Discords betwixt the Nobility and the People. A* Gonfaloniere di Giustizia, *or Standard-bearer, appointed. The Nobility exhorted to peace.*

peace. The ſame admonitions given to the People. Another reform in Florence in the year 1298. *A great quarrel in the family of the* Cancellieri; *the occaſion and conſequences of it. They divide into two factions, diſtinguiſhed by the names of* Bianchi *and* Neri, *i. e.* Whites *and* Blacks. *Their Chiefs and Partiſans. Charles of Valois made Governor of Florence. New troubles occaſioned by Corſo Donati; fomented by the Medici and Giugni. A great fire in Florence,* 1304. *Corſo Donati condemned as a rebel; his death. Freſh diviſions. The tyranny and cruelty of Lando d'Agobbio. The ſucceſs of Caſtruccio Caſtracani. A* Council of the Signiory *to laſt forty months. Election of the magiſtrates by* Imborſation. *Ramondo da Cardona, general of the Florentine army; his bad conduct, defeat, and death. The Duke of Athens, Deputy-governor of Florence. The Emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, called into Italy. The death of Caſtruccio and the Duke of Calabria. A new model of Government. The Florentines quiet at home. Their new buildings. Their tranquillity diſturbed. A Captain of the guards appointed. Maffeo da Maradi prevents an engagement betwixt the factions in Florence, by his mediation. Lucca ſold to the Florentines; and taken from them by the Piſans. The Duke of Athens made Governor of Florence. The ſpeech of one of the Signiory to him. His anſwer. He is made Sovereign by the people. His violent manner of proceeding. Matteo di Morozzo diſcovers a plot to him. Three conſpiracies on foot againſt him at the ſame time. An inſurrection in Florence. The Duke is expelled. His character. Another reform. The Nobility turned out of their offices. The bold attempt of Andrea Strozzi. The Nobles endeavour to recover their authority. The people take arms and utterly ſuppreſs them.*

AMONGST other wiſe and noble inſtitutions of former Kingdoms and Republics, which are diſcontinued in our times, it was the cuſtom to build new towns and cities upon every proper opportunity. And

And indeed nothing is more worthy of a great and good Prince, or a well regulated Common-wealth, nor more for the intereſt and advantage of a Province, than to eſtabliſh ſuch communities, where men may live together for greater convenience, either of cultivating the earth, or of mutually aſſiſting and defending each other: and this they uſually effected, by ſending ſome of their own ſubjects to inhabit ſuch countries as they had either conquered or found unpeopled. Such ſettlements were called Colonies, and ſerved not only to beautify and meliorate the face of the country, by building new towns, but to render it more ſecure to the Conqueror, by filling the void places, and making a proper diſtribution of the people through every part of it. Thus, living with greater comfort and convenience, the inhabitants multiplied faſter, and were more able to invade others, or defend themſelves. But this cuſtom being now laid aſide, either by the ſupineneſs or bad policy of Princes and Republics, ſome Provinces are become exceeding weak, and others totally ruined. For this Order alone ſecures a Country and fills it with people. It ſecures it, becauſe a Colony planted by a Prince in a Country newly conquered, is a ſort of a garriſon to check and keep the natives in obedience. Beſides, without it, no Province could long continue properly inhabited, nor preſerve a juſt diſtribution of the people: for as all parts of it cannot be equally fertile or healthful, men will naturally abandon the barren places, and are carried off by diſtempers in thoſe that are unwholſome; ſo that except ſome way can be found to invite freſh ſettlers from the other quarters, to inhabit both the one and the other, that Province muſt ſoon be ruined; as the abandoning ſome places leaves them deſolate, and crowding too large numbers into others, exhauſts and impoveriſhes them. And ſince theſe inconveniencies are not to be remedied by nature alone, art and induſtry muſt be applied: for we ſee many countries that were at firſt unhealthful, much altered when they come to be in-

habited by a multitude of people, the earth being purified by tillage, and the air by their fires; which, without that affiſtance, nature only could never have effected. Of this, Venice is a remarkable inſtance: for though it was built in a fenny and unwholſome ſituation, the concourſe of ſo many people at one time ſoon made it healthful. Piſa likewiſe, on account of the badneſs of its air, was very thinly inhabited, till the Geoneſe were driven out of their territories by the Saracens, and flocked thither in ſuch numbers, that it ſoon became a populous and powerful city. But ſince the cuſtom of ſending out Colonies is now out of faſhion, new conqueſts are not ſo eaſily maintained, void places not ſo ſoon filled, nor thoſe that are too much crouded ſo readily diſburthened. From whence it comes to paſs, that many places in the world, and particularly in Italy, are now become deſolate and unpeopled, in compariſon of what they were in former ages; the true cauſe of which failure is, that Princes have now no appetite for true glory, and Commonwealths no longer obſerve the laudable cuſtoms and inſtitutions they anciently uſed to do.

In former times, I ſay then, many new Cities were founded, and ſeveral that had been built before, much enlarged by Colonies. The city of Florence, to give a particular example, was begun by the inhabitants of Fieſole, and augmented by the people they were continually ſending thither. It is certain, if Dante and Giovanni Villani are to be credited, that the Citizens of Fieſole, which is ſituated upon the top of a hill, marked out a plot of ground upon the plain that lies betwixt the ſkirts of that hill and the river Arno, for the conveniency of merchants; that ſo their goods might be conveyed thither with leſs difficulty, and their markets better frequented. Theſe merchants, I ſuppoſe, firſt built warehouſes in that place to ſtow their goods in, which, in courſe of time, became a ſettled habitation. But when the Romans had ſecured Italy againſt foreign invaſions, by the deſtruction of Carthage, they began to multiply exceedingly: for

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men will not live any longer in want and diſtreſs than they are compelled to it, by abſolute neceſſity: and though the terrors of war may force them for a while to take ſhelter in deſart mountains, and inacceſſible places; yet, when the danger is blown over, comfort and convenience allure them back again, and they naturally return to places that are more habitable and commodious. The ſecurity, therefore, which was eſtabliſhed in Italy, by the reputation of the Roman arms, might poſſibly be the occaſion that this place increaſed ſo faſt from ſo ſmall a beginning, that it ſoon came to be a town, which at firſt was called Villa Arnina.

After this, there aroſe civil wars in Rome betwixt Marius and Sylla, then betwixt Cæſar and Pompey, and laſtly betwixt the aſſaſſins of Cæſar and thoſe that undertook to revenge his death. Sylla was the firſt, and after him, the three Roman citizens who revenged the death of Cæſar and divided the Empire, that ſent colonies to Fieſole; all, or the greater part of which, ſettled in a plain not far from the town which was already begun: ſo that by this addition, the place became ſo full of buildings and inhabitants, and ſuch proviſions were made for a civil government, that it might well be reckoned amongſt the cities of Italy. But whence it took the name of Florence is not ſo clearly known. Some will have it, that it was ſo called from Florino, one of the chiefs of the colony. Others ſay, it was not called Florentia, but Fluentia at firſt, from its being ſituated ſo near the ſtream of the Arno; and to ſupport their aſſertion they produce the teſtimony of Pliny, who ſays †, "The Fluentines are ſeated upon the banks of the Arno." But that ſeems to be an error, becauſe Pliny is there ſpeaking of the ſituation, not the name, of the Florentines; and the word Fluentini is moſt probably a corruption of the text, ſince Frontinus and Tacitus, two writers that were nearly cotemporary with Pliny, call the

† Nat. Hiſt. l. iii. c. 25.

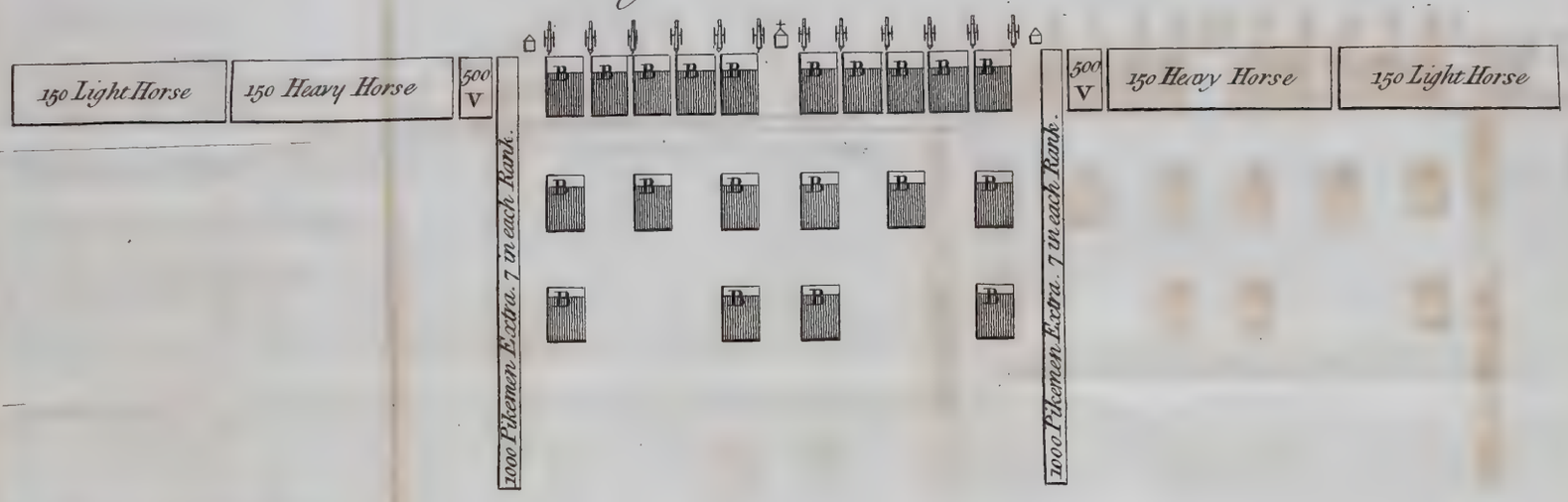
town Florentia and the people Florentines: and it is certain, that in the time of Tiberius, they were governed by the ſame laws and authority that the reſt of the cities in Italy were then ſubject to. Of which we ſee a proof in Tacitus †, who relates, that the Florentines ſent deputies to petition the Emperor that he would not ſuffer their country to be ruined by turning the ſtream of the river Clanis upon it, as was deſigned: and it is abſurd to ſuppoſe that city ſhould have two names at the ſame time. It is my opinion, therefore, whatever might be the occaſion of its original or denomination, that it was always called Florentia. It was founded under the Roman Empire, and began to be mentioned in Hiſtory in the time of the firſt Emperors: and when the Empire was overrun by Barbarians, Totila, King of the Oſtrogoths, took and demoliſhed Florence. Two hundred years after which, it was rebuilt by Charlemagne, from whoſe time, till the year 1215, it followed the fortune of thoſe that ſucceſſively had the rule in Italy; for, during that period, it was governed firſt by the poſterity of Charlemagne, afterwards by the Berengarii, and laſt of all by the German Emperors, as we have already ſhewn in our ſummary of the affairs of Italy.

In thoſe days, the Florentines being under the dominion of foreigners, were not able either to extend their boundaries, or to perform any thing worthy of relation, except, that on St. Romulus's day, in the year 1010, which the Fieſolans obſerved as a ſolemn feſtival, they took and deſtroyed Fieſole, availing themſelves either of the connivance of the Emperors, or the opportunity that was afforded them by the interregnum betwixt the death of one Emperor and the election of another. But afterwards, when the Popes aſſumed greater authority in Italy, and the power of the German Emperors was upon the wane, all the towns of that province began to govern themſelves,

† Annal. lib. i. ad finem.

and

Figure Fourth.



B. *Batallions, the shaded part is occupied by 300 Target-Men, the part not shaded by 100 Pike-men.*

V. *Velites Extraordinary.*

⌂ *Colonel of a Regiment.*

♁ *Captain General.*

P. *Pike-men extraordinary.*

V.O. *Ordinary Velites.*

Figure Five. Vol. IV. p. 84.

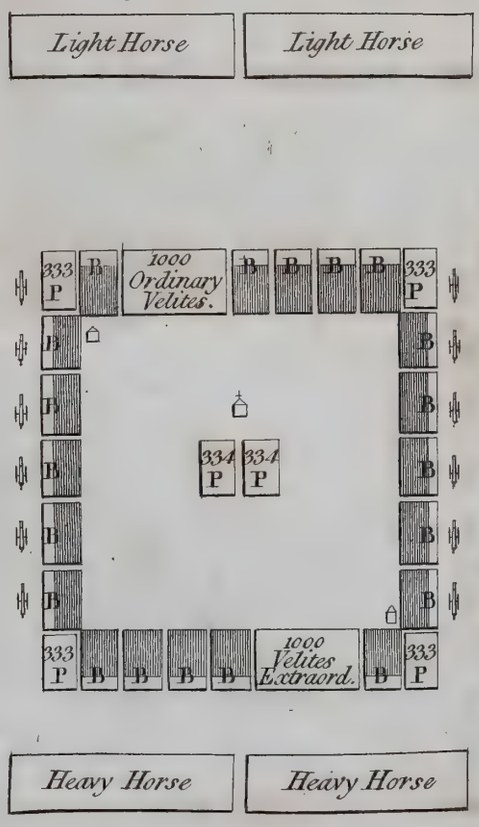
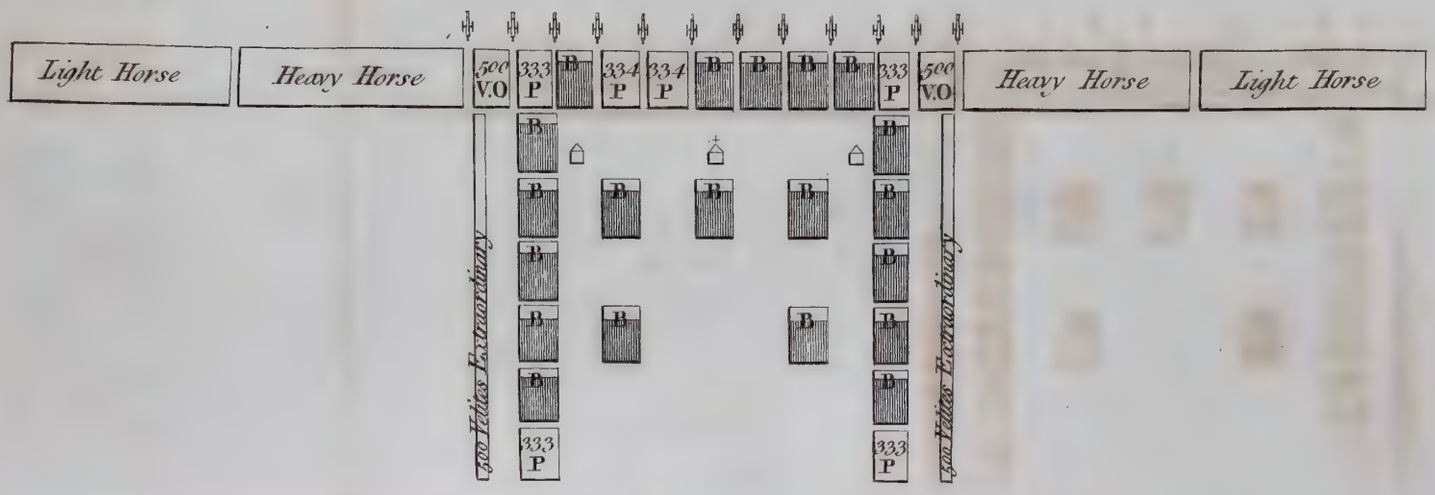


Figure Six. Vol. IV. p. 84.



J. Lodge Sculp.

150 Light Horse

assumed greater authority in Italy, and the power of the German Emperors was upon the wane, all the towns of that province began to govern themselves,

† Annal. lib. i. ad finem.

and

and ſhewed but little regard to their Princes: ſo that in the year 1080, Italy was in a manner divided betwixt Henry the Third and the Church. Notwithſtanding which, the Florentines always ſubmitting to the Conqueror, and aiming at nothing further than their own preſervation, kept themſelves quiet and undivided till the year 1215. But as it is obſerved, that the later diſeaſes make their approach, the more dangerous and mortal they commonly are to the human body: ſo the longer it was before Florence was ſeized by the paroxyſms of faction, the more fatal they proved when it did happen. The cauſe of its firſt Diviſion is very well known, as it has been already related by Dante and ſeveral other Writers: however, I ſhall give a ſhort account of it.

The greateſt and moſt powerful families in Florence at that time, were the Buondelmonti and the Uberti; and next to them, the Amadei and Donati. In the family of the Donati there was a very rich widow Lady, who had a daughter of remarkable beauty. This Lady had reſolved with herſelf to marry her daughter to Meſſer Buondelmonte, a young Cavalier, who was then head of that family; but either out of negligence, or becauſe ſhe thought it was yet in good time, ſhe had not communicated her deſign to any body: ſo that before ſhe was aware, young Buondelmonte had engaged himſelf to a daughter of the Houſe of Amadei, at which the old Lady was exceedingly diſappointed and chagrined. But as ſhe entertained ſome hopes that her daughter's beauty might ſtill have power enough to break the match, ſeeing him come alone one day towards her houſe, ſhe went to the door with her daughter to ſalute him as he paſſed by, and amongſt other compliments told him, "She could not help ſincerely rejoicing when ſhe heard he was going to be married, though, indeed, ſhe had till then kept her own daughter ſingle (whom ſhe preſented to him) in hopes that ſhe ſhould have been his Bride." The young Gentleman, ſtruck with her extraordinary beauty, and conſidering that

her family and fortune were not inferior to that of the Lady to whom he was contracted, grew ſo enamoured of her, that, without reflecting upon the engagement he was under, the baſeneſs he ſhould be guilty of in breaking it, or the conſequences that might enſue, he immediately replied, "Madam, ſince you have reſerved her for me, and it is not yet too late, I ſhould be very ungrateful to reject ſuch an offer;" and preſently after was married to her. But, as ſoon as the wedding was made public, it ſo exaſperated the Amadei and Uberti, who were nearly allied to the Donati, that after a conſultation amongſt themſelves and ſeveral other relations, it was reſolved, that the affront was too grievous to be put up, and could not be ſufficiently attoned for, but by the death of young Buondelmonte; and though ſome deſired them to conſider the conſequences, Moſcha Lamberti replied, "thoſe who conſidered every thing, would never conclude upon any thing," adding the old proverb, *Coſa fatta capa hà*, "when a thing is once done, there is an end of it." The fact being thus determined upon, the execution of it was left to the ſaid Moſcha, Stiatta Uberti, Lambertuccio Amadei, and Oderigo Fifanti. Accordingly, on the morning of Eaſter-day, being poſted in the houſes of the Amadei, betwixt the old Bridge and St. Stephen's, as Meſſer Buondelmonte was paſſing the river on horſeback, without fear or ſuſpicion, (as if he thought the affront would have been as eaſily forgotten as the match had been broken) they ſet upon him at the foot of the Bridge, and killed him, cloſe by a Statue of Mars, which then ſtood there. This murder divided the whole city, one part of it ſiding with the Buondelmonti, the other with the Uberti; and as both the families were very powerful in alliances, caſtles, and adherents, the quarrel continued many years before either of them could entirely get the better of the other: for though their animoſities could not be utterly extinguiſhed by a firm and laſting reconciliation, yet they were often palliated and com-

composed for a while by truces and cessation of hostilities; by which manner of proceeding, as new accidents and events happened, they were sometimes quiet, and sometimes at variance. In this state Florence continued till the reign of the Emperor Frederick the Second, who being likewise King of Naples, and desirous to strengthen himself against the Church, and establish his interest more securely in Tuscany, thought it no bad expedient to join the Uberti and their party, who, by his assistance, were enabled to drive the Buondelmonti out of Florence; and thus that city (as all the rest in Italy were before) became divided into the two Factions of * Guelphs and

* Machiavel says, in the first book of this History, that Pistoia was the first place where these names of distinction were used. But other authors say that the words Guelph and Ghibeline derive their original from a schism which disturbed the Church in the year 1130, occasioned by the competition betwixt the two Popes Innocent II. and Anaclete. The greater part of Christendom acknowledged Innocent, who was strenuously supported by the Western Emperor. Anaclete, the Antipope, had the countenance and assistance of Roger, Count of Naples and Sicily, a martial Prince, descended from the Normans, who had conquered that country. The pretence of this double election having kept a war on foot eight years together, in which Roger, for the most part, had the advantage, the Emperor Conrade III. himself marched into Italy, at the head of an army of Germans, leaving his son Prince Henry to follow him. Roger therefore, to oppose him with forces of his own nation, prevailed upon Guelph, Duke of Bavaria, to come to his assistance. During the course of this war, which began in the year 1139, it sometimes happened, that the Emperor's army was commanded by the said Prince Henry, who was brought up at the village of Ghibeline in Germany, the situation of which being exceeding pleasant made him particularly fond of it.—One day, when the armies on each side were drawn up, and ready to engage, the Bavarians, out of compliment to their general, cried out, a Guelph, a Guelph; and the Emperor's troops, on the other hand, shouted a Ghibeline, a Ghibeline. These words seeming barbarous to the Italians that were in Roger's army, they came to Guelph to know the meaning of them, who told them, that the Pope's party were meant by the word Guelph; and the Emperor's, by Ghibeline: from whence those names became so common in both armies, that the Qui vive, or challenge given by Centinels at their posts, was generally, who goes there? a Guelph, or a Ghibeline? and they were appropriated to the Italians, according to their respective sides. At first, indeed, they were used only to distinguish Anaclete's party from the Emperor's: but afterwards, Roger having vanquished Pope Innocent, and taken him prisoner, he obliged him, at the price of his liberty, to erect the countries of Naples and Sicily into Kingdoms: by which treaty, Roger being taken off from the interest of the Anti-

Ghibelines. It may not be amiſs, therefore, to relate what families adhered to each party. Thoſe that followed the Guelphs, were the Buondelmonti, Nerli, Roſſi, Freſcobaldi, Mozzi, Baldi, Pulci, Gherardini, Foraboſchi, Bagneſi, Guidalotti, Sacchetti, Manieri, Lucardeſi, Chiaramonti, Compiobeſi, Cavalcanti, Giandonati, Gianfigliazzi, Scali, Gualterotti, Importuni, Boſtichi, Tornaquinci, Vecchietti, Toſinghi, Arrigucci, Agli, Sizii, Adimari, Viſdomini, Donati, Pazzi, Della Bella, Ardinghi, Teobaldi, and Cerchi. Thoſe that took part with the Ghibelines were the Uberti, Mannelli, Ubriachi, Fifanti, Amadei, Infanganti, Maleſpini, Scolari, Guidi, Galli, Capprardi, Lamberti, Soldanieri, Cipriani, Toſchi, Amieri, Palermini, Miglioreili, Pigli, Barucci, Cattani, Agolanti, Brunelleſchi, Caponiachi, Eliſei, Abbati, Tadaldini, Guiochi, and Galigai, to which noble families on each ſide, great numbers of the common people joined themſelves; ſo that the whole city in a manner was divided betwixt theſe two parties.

The Guelphs being thus forced out of the city retired into that part of the vale which lies higher up the river Arno, where moſt of their ſtrong places and dependences lay, and defended them as well as they could, againſt the forces of their enemies. But when Frederick died, thoſe few who ſtood neuter, having great intereſt and reputation amongſt the people thought it much better to reunite the city, if poſſible, than to ruin it by fomenting the Diviſion: for which purpoſe, they at laſt prevailed upon the Guelphs to forgive the injuries and diſgrace they had ſuffered, and to return; and upon the Ghibelines, to forget the cauſe of their former animoſities, and to receive them. After they were reunited in this man

pope, and engaging heartily with the Church, affixed the name of Guelph to the Pope's party, and confirmed that of Ghibeline to the faction of the Emperor.

Theſe two factions were in the height of their emulation two hundred years after, that is to ſay, about the year 1320, which was very near the time that Caſtruccio Caſtracani was in his higheſt proſperity. Biondo. Sigonius.

ner, they judged it a proper time to take ſome meaſures for the recovery of their liberty, and to provide for their common defence, before the new Emperor grew ſtrong enough to prevent it. With this view they divided the city into ſix parts, and choſe twelve citizens, two to govern each ward, with the title of Anziani, but to be changed every year. To prevent any feuds or diſcontents that might ariſe from the determination of judiciary matters, they conſtituted two judges that were not Florentines, (one of whom was ſtyled, the Captain of the People, and the other the Podeſtà) to adminiſter juſtice to the people, in all cauſes civil and criminal. And ſince Laws are but of little authority and ſhort duration, where there is not ſufficient power to ſupport and enforce them, they raiſed twenty Bands or Companies in the city, and ſeventy-ſix more in the reſt of their territories, in which all the youth were enliſted, and obliged to be ready armed under their reſpective colours, whenever they were required ſo to be by the Captain of the Anziani. And as their colours were different, ſo were their weapons; ſome of them uſing croſs-bows, and others being armed with ſwords and targets. Their Enſigns or Standard-bearers were changed every year with great formality at Whitſuntide, and freſh officers appointed to command the whole. To add more dignity and reſpect to their army, and provide a ſort of Head-colours to which every one might repair when he was driven out of the battle, to ſhelter himſelf, and make head afreſh againſt the enemy, they ordered a large carriage, covered with red trappings, to be drawn along with it, by two oxen, upon which a red and white ſtandard was diſplayed. And whenever their forces were to be drawn out, this Carriage was brought into the Mercato Nuovo, or New Market, and delivered to the Captains of the people with much ceremony. And for the greater ſolemnity in their military expeditions, they had a bell called Martinella, which was tolled for a month together without ceaſing, before they

took the field, that the enemy might have time to provide for their defence: for ſuch a ſpirit of generoſity then prevailed amongſt them, and with ſo much magnanimity did they behave, that though, now indeed, it is reputed laudable and good policy to attack an Enemy unprepared, it was looked upon in thoſe days as baſe and treacherous. This Bell was always carried along with their armies when they marched; and by it, their ſignals for poſting and relieving guards and centinels, and other warlike operations were regulated.

By ſuch diſcipline in their civil and military affairs, the Florentines laid the foundation of their liberty; and it is hardly to be conceived, how much ſtrength and authority they acquired in a very ſhort time: for their city not only became the capital of Tuſcany, but was reckoned amongſt the principal in Italy; and indeed there is no degree of grandeur to which it might not have attained, if it had not been obſtructed by frequent and almoſt continual diſcords and diviſions. For the ſpace of ten years they lived under this form of government; during which time, they forced the States of Piſtoia, Arezzo, and Siena, to enter into a confederacy with them, and in their return with their army from the laſt city, they took Volterra, demoliſhed ſeveral caſtles, and brought the inhabitants to Florence. In all theſe expeditions, the Guelphs had the chief direction and command, as they were much more popular and powerful than the Ghibelines, who had behaved themſelves ſo imperiouſly in the reign of Frederick, when they had the upper hand, that they were become very odious to the people; and becauſe the party of the Church was generally thought to favour their attempts to preſerve their liberty, whilſt that of the Emperor endeavoured to deprive them of it.

The Ghibelines, in the mean time, finding their authority ſo dwindled, were not a little diſcontented, and only waited for a proper opportunity to ſeize upon the government again. Seeing therefore, that Man-

Manfred, the Son of Frederick, King of Naples, had eſtabliſhed himſelf in the poſſeſſion of that Kingdom, and ſufficiently reduced the power of the Church, they thought the juncture not unfavourable for the execution of their deſigns, and entered into a private correſpondence with him in hopes of his aſſiſtance: but for want of due ſecrecy in theſe practices, they were diſcovered by the Anziani, who thereupon ſummoned the Uberti to appear before them. But inſtead of obeying, they took up arms and fortified themſelves in their houſes: at which the people were ſo incenſed that they likewiſe ran to arms, and by the help of the Guelphs obliged the whole party of the Ghibelines to quit Florence and tranſport themſelves to Siena. There they ſued for aid to Manfred, who granted it, and the Guelphs were defeated upon the banks of the River Arbia, with ſuch ſlaughter (by the King's forces under the conduct of Farinata degli Uberti) that thoſe who eſcaped from it, giving up their city for loſt, fled directly to Lucca, and left Florence to provide for itſelf. Manfred had given the command of the auxiliaries which he ſent to the Ghibelines, to Count Giordano, a ſoldier of no ſmall reputation in thoſe times. This Giordano, after his victory, immediately advanced with the Ghibelines to Florence, and not only forced the city to acknowledge Manfred for its ſovereign, but depoſed the Magiſtrates, and either entirely abrogated, or altered all laws and cuſtoms that might look like remains of their former liberty; which being executed with great rigour and inſolence, enflamed the people to ſuch a degree, that if they did not love the Ghibelines before, they now became their inveterate and implacable enemies; which averſion continually increaſing, at laſt proved their utter deſtruction.

Giordano being obliged to return to Naples upon affairs of great conſequence to that Kingdom, left Count Guido Novello, Lord of Caſentino, at Florence, as deputy for the King there; who called a Coun-

Council of the Ghibelines at Empoli, in which it was unanimouſly reſolved, that in order to maintain their power in Tuſcany, it was neceſſary to demoliſh Florence entirely, as the people were ſuch rigid Guelphs there, that it was the only city capable of ſupporting the declining party of the Church. There was not ſo much as one citizen or friend that had courage enough to oppoſe this cruel ſentence upon ſo noble and magnificent a city, except Farinata Uberti, who openly and boldly proteſted againſt it, declaring that he had not undergone ſo much fatigue, nor expoſed himſelf to ſo many dangers, but to live quietly afterwards at home; nor was he then in a humour to reject what he had ſo long and earneſtly ſought for, or to ſlight the favours which good Fortune at laſt had granted him: that on the contrary he was determined to exert himſelf againſt any one who ſhould go about to prevent it, with as much zeal and vigour as he had done againſt the Guelphs; and that if either mean jealouſy or cowardice ſhould prompt them to endeavour the ruin of their city, they might attempt it if they pleaſed, but he hoped he ſhould be able to defend it with the ſame valour that had driven out his former enemies.—Farinata was a man of great courage, an excellent ſoldier, head of the Ghibeline faction, and in ſo much eſteem with Manfred himſelf, that his authority alone quaſhed the effects of that reſolution, and put them upon conſidering of new ways and means to keep themſelves in poſſeſſion of the government.

The Guelphs, in this interval, who had taken refuge in Lucca, being deſired to withdraw out of that city by the Lucchese, at the threats of the Count, retired to Bologna; from whence they were invited by their friends at Parma, to join them againſt the Ghibelines in thoſe parts, and behaved ſo well there that after they had conquered them, they had their poſſeſſions given them as a reward for their valour. So that having in ſome meaſure recovered their ſtrength and reputation, and hearing that Pope Clement had

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called Charles of Anjou into Italy, to depoſe Manfred if poſſible, they ſent Deputies to his Holineſs with a tender of their ſervice, which the Pope not only accepted, but ſent them a ſtandard which the Guelphs carried ever after in their wars, and is uſed by the Florentines at this time.

After this Manfred was not only defeated by Charles, but deprived of his Kingdom and ſlain *: and as the Guelphs of Florence had no ſmall ſhare in that action, their party grew daily bolder and more vigorous, and that of the Ghibelines ſtill weaker and weaker. Upon which, Count Guido Novello, and thoſe that were left in commiſſion with him to govern Florence, reſolved to try if it was poſſible by lenity and gentler treatment, to recover the affections of the people, whom they found they had exaſperated to the laſt degree by their oppreſſive and violent manner of proceeding. But thoſe favours, which, if

* This Manfred was a baſtard ſon of the Emperor Frederick II. It is ſaid, he ſmothered his father in his bed; and afterwards cauſed Conrade, ſon of the ſaid Emperor, to be poiſoned. Conrade left a ſon, whoſe name was Conradine, to whom Manfred made himſelf guardian. At laſt he poſſeſſed himſelf of the kingdom of Sicily, which he governed eleven years in conſtant troubles and diviſions. He quarrelled with Pope Innocent IV. carried the war into his dominions, and routed his forces in December 1254, by the help of the Saracens of Lauria. Afterwards he took the country of Fondi from the Church, and was excommunicated by the Popes Urban IV. and Clement IV. the former of which Pontifs called Charles of Anjou into Italy, and inveſted him with the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, in order to make war upon Manfred, as an enemy to the Church. It is reported, that he made an overture of peace to Charles; to which that Prince returned the following anſwer: *Ite & renunciate Sultano Lucerino* (ſo he called Manfred, with whom the Saracens of Lauria or Luceria had joined themſelves) *me vel brevi ipſum in infernum detruſurum, vel ipſum me in paradiſum collocaturum.* "Go and tell the Sultan of Luceria, that I will very ſoon either ſend him to hell, or he ſhall ſend me to Heaven." Accordingly they came to an engagement on the plain of Benevento, February 26, 1266; in which Manfred loſt his life, and was found covered all over with blood and dirt. He was thrown into a ditch near the Bridge of Benevento, becauſe he was excommunicated, and afterwards, as a modern author ſays, Pope Clement cauſed his body to be carried out of the Church-lands. Manfred had given his daughter Conſtantia in marriage to Peter III. of Arragon, in the year 1262; and upon this match, the Princes of that family founded their pretenſions to the kingdom of Naples. Collenucio. Hiſt. Neap.

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they had been properly applied, and before they were extorted by neceſſity, might poſſibly have had a good effect, were now conferred with ſo bad a grace, that inſtead of doing them any ſervice, they only contributed to haſten their ruin. To cajole and ingratiate themſelves with the people, they thought it would be ſufficient if they gave them back ſome part of thoſe privileges and that authority which they had robbed them of. For which purpoſe, they choſe ſix and thirty citizens out of the people of Florence, and two gentlemen of higher rank from amongſt their friends at Bologna, to whom they gave a commiſſion to reform the State as they pleaſed. Theſe Delegates, at their firſt meeting, divided the city into diſtinct Arts or Trades, over each of which they conſtituted a Magiſtrate, who was to adminiſter juſtice to all that were in his department; and to every art a ſeparate banner was aſſigned, under which they might aſſemble in arms whenever the ſafety of the public required it. At firſt theſe Arts or Companies were twelve, ſeven greater, and five leſs: but the leſs being afterwards augmented to fourteen, the whole number amounted to twenty-one, and continue ſo to be at preſent.

The reformers proceeding to make other alterations likewiſe for the common good, Count Guido, who thought himſelf obliged to make ſome proviſion for his ſoldiers, cauſed a tax to be laid upon the citizens for that purpoſe, but met with ſo much oppoſition in the matter, that he never durſt uſe any compulſive means to collect it. So that perceiving all would be loſt, if he did not take ſome meaſures to prevent it, he held a private conſultation with the chiefs of the Ghibeline faction, in which it was reſolved to take that back again from the people which he had ſo inconſiderately given them; and if it ſhould be neceſſary, even by force of arms. Accordingly, when he thought he had made ſufficient preparations for the execution of his deſign, he took an opportunity of raiſing a tumult whilſt the thirty-ſix reformers were ſitting;

ſitting; at which they were ſo frighted that they retired to their houſes. But the enſigns of the ſeveral arts being immediately diſplayed, the people repaired to them in arms, and underſtanding that Count Guido and his party were at St. John's, they made a ſtand near Trinity Church, and choſe Giovanni Soldanieri for their leader. The Count, on the other hand, having notice where they had poſted themſelves, inſtantly advanced to attack them; and the people not declining an engagement, they met near a place that is now called la Loggia dè Tornaquinci, where the Count was worſted and moſt of his party ſlain. Daunted at this repulſe, and apprehenſive that the enemy would fall upon him again in the night and murder him, now he had ſo few forces to truſt to, and thoſe beaten and diſmayed, he reſolved to ſave himſelf by flight; and his fears were ſo violent that, even contrary to the perſuaſion of the heads of the Ghibeline party, he retired in all haſte to Prato, with what men he had left. However, as ſoon as he found himſelf in a place of ſecurity and had recovered his ſpirits, he was ſenſible of his error; and being deſirous to retrieve his reputation, he marched back early the next morning to Florence, in hopes of regaining that with honour which he had loſt with ſo much ignominy. But he was diſappointed in that deſign alſo; for though perhaps it might have been very difficult to drive him out of the city, the people found it no hard matter to keep him out when he was ſo: ſo that he was forced to draw off once more with infinite diſgrace and chagrin to Caſentino, and the Ghibelines retired to other towns that were of their party.

The people having thus got the upper hand, reſolved to unite the city again if poſſible, and by the advice of thoſe that wiſhed well to the commonwealth, to recall all ſuch citizens as had been forced to leave their homes, whether they were Guelphs or Ghibelines. In conſequence of which, the Guelphs returned, ſix years after they had been baniſhed, the

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late attempt of the Ghibelines was pardoned, and they were ſuffered to come back again. But they ſtill continued very odious both to the Guelphs and the people; the former not being able to forgive the diſgrace and hardſhips of their long exile, nor the latter to forget their inſolence and tyranny when they had the government in their hands: ſo that their ancient animoſities were not yet entirely extinguiſhed either on one ſide or the other.

Whilſt the affairs of Florence were in this ſituation, a rumour was ſpread, that Conradine, nephew to Manfred, was marching with an army out of Germany to invade the Kingdom of Naples: at which news, the Ghibelines began to conceive freſh hopes of recovering their former authority; and the Guelphs being no leſs ſollicitous to ſecure themſelves againſt the attempts of their enemies, applied to King Charles for aſſiſtance, in caſe Conradine ſhould actually come. This requeſt being granted, his forces immediately began their march: upon which, the Guelphs grew ſo inſolent, and the courage of the Ghibelines was damped to ſuch a degree, that they fled out of the city two days before the arrival of thoſe ſuccours. After the departure of the Ghibelines, the Florentines new modelled their city, and choſe twelve principal Magiſtrates, who were to continue in authority no longer than two months, not under the title of Anziani, but that of Buonhuomini. Next in power under them, they appointed a council of eighty Citizens, which they called the Credenza. After this, an hundred and eighty more were elected out of the people, thirty to ſerve every two months; who, together with the Credenza, and the twelve Buonhuomini, were called the General Council. Beſides which, they inſtituted another council, conſiſting of an hundred and twenty members, equally choſen out of the Nobility, Citizens, and Commonalty, which was to confirm whatſoever had been reſolved upon by the others, and to act jointly with them in diſpoſing of the public honours and offices

fices of the commonwealth. Having in this manner fortified themſelves againſt the machinations of the Ghibelines, by new laws, and creating magiſtrates only of the Guelph party, they divided the goods and eſtates of the Ghibelines into three parts; one of which was confiſcated for public uſes, another appropriated to the ſupport of their Magiſtrates and other Officers, and the third diſtributed amongſt the Guelphs, in conſideration of the loſſes they had ſuſtained. The Pope likewiſe, to ſecure Tuſcany to the Guelph faction, made King Charles Imperial Vicar of that Province.

Whilſt the Florentines thus maintained their honour and reputation abroad, by the valour of their arms, and at home by this new form of government, the Pope died, and the vacancy was not filled up till after a conteſt that laſted two years, at the end of which Gregory X. was choſen, who being in Syria at the time of his election, (where he had reſided many years, without concerning himſelf in the intrigues of faction) and an enemy to diſcord of all kinds, did not ſhew the ſame partiality to the Guelphs that his predeceſſors had done. And therefore, when he arrived at Florence, in his way to France, thinking it the duty of a good paſtor to uſe his endeavours to re-unite the city, and compoſe all differences, he prevailed upon the Florentines to receive commiſſioners from the Ghibelines, to negotiate the terms upon which they ſhould return: but, notwithſtanding an accommodation was concluded betwixt the two parties, the Ghibelines were ſo ſuſpicious, that they would not come back again. The cauſe of this refuſal was laid to the charge of the city, and enraged the Pope to ſuch a degree, that he excommunicated it; under which cenſure it continued, as long as he lived; but after his death, when Innocent V. was elected, it was taken off. Innocent was ſucceeded by Nicholas III. of the houſe of Urſini: and as the Popes were always jealous of any conſiderable power in Italy (though raiſed by the favour of the Church) and

and conſtantly endeavoured to depreſs it, great commotions and frequent changes enſued. For the dread of any one that was grown potent, occaſioned the exaltation of another that was weaker than him, who growing powerful alſo by his advancement, became equally formidable, and was ſure to be humbled in in his turn, if poſſible. This was the occaſion of the Kingdom of Naples being taken from Manfred, and given to Charles. And when Charles was afterwards thought too ſtrong by this acquiſition, his ruin was alſo conſpired: for Nicholas III. moved by this conſideration, ſo contrived matters, that Charles was removed from the government of Tuſcany by the Emperor, and Latino, the Pope's Legate, ſent thither in his room, by a commiſſion from that Prince.

The government of Florence was fallen into great diſorder and miſrule at this time; for the Guelph nobility were grown ſo inſolent, and ſtood in ſo little awe of the magiſtracy, that though many murders and other acts of violence were daily committed, yet the criminals generally eſcaped with impunity, through the favour of one or other of the Nobles. To reſtrain theſe enormities, the heads of the city thought it no bad expedient to recall thoſe that were baniſhed; which gave the Legate an opportunity of interpoſing his authority and good offices for the re-union of the city, and the return of the Ghibelines. This being happily effected, inſtead of twelve governors, they reſolved to have fourteen, ſeven of each party, who ſhould be nominated by the Pope, and remain in office no longer than one year. Under this form of government, the city continued for the ſpace of two years; when Martin, a Frenchman, was created Pope, and reſtored all the power and authority to King Charles that had been taken from him by Pope Nicholas. Upon which, the rage of faction ſuddenly blazed out again in Tuſcany: for the Florentines roſe in arms againſt the Emperor's deputy, and put the city under a new regulation, to curb the ambition of the Ghibelines, and the inſolence of the nobility.

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In the year 1282, the companies of the Arts and Trades having for ſome time had magiſtrates and colours of their own, were become ſo reſpectable and powerful, that they got a law paſſed by their authority, in which it was ordained, that inſtead of fourteen citizens, three only ſhould govern the commonwealth, and that for no longer than two months; who were to be choſen indifferently out of the nobility or commons, provided they were merchants, or profeſſed any art or occupation: and theſe were called Priori. Afterwards, the chief magiſtracy was veſted in ſix perſons, one for each ward, under which regulation the city continued till the year 1342; when it was divided into Quarters, and the number of the Priori reduced to nine, which by ſome accident or other, during this period, had been ſometimes augmented to twelve. This inſtitution, in time, occaſioned the ruin of the nobility, who, upon divers provocations, were excluded, and at laſt entirely ſuppreſſed by the people. The nobility, indeed, conſented to it, becauſe they were at that time divided amongſt themſelves: but by endeavouring to ſupplant each other, and aſpiring to the ſole government of the commonwealth, they quite loſt all ſhare in it. There was likewiſe a palace ſet apart for the conſtant reſidence of theſe magiſtrates, and the meeting of the council; whereas, before, they both uſed to aſſemble in ſome one or other of the churches. Beſides which, they had ſerjeants, and other neceſſary officers, appointed to attend them there, to create greater reverence and reſpect in the people. And though at firſt they had only the title of Priori, they were afterwards diſtinguiſhed by the name of Signori or Signiory.

1282.

1342

The Florentines, after this, continued quiet at home for ſome time; during which, they made war upon the people of Arezzo, (for having expelled the Guelphs their city) and gained a conſiderable victory over them at Campaldino. And as the City now began to grow very rich, and full of inhabitants, it was

thought proper to build new walls, and extend the bounds of it, which they did, to its present circumference; for the former diameter reached only from the old Bridge to the church of St. Laurence.

War abroad, and peace at home, had now almost extinguished the two factions of Guelphs and Ghibelines in Florence; and there remained only some sparks of animosity betwixt the nobility and commonalty, which are incident to all Republicks; for one side being naturally jealous of any incroachment upon their liberty and legal rights, and the other ambitious to rule and controul the laws, it is not possible they should ever long agree together.

This humour did not shew itself in the nobility, however, whilst they were over-awed by the Ghibelines; but when the latter were depressed, it began to appear, and the people were daily injured and abused in such a manner, that neither the laws nor the magistracy had authority enough to relieve them; as every nobleman supported himself in his insolence by the number of his friends and relations, both against the power of the Signory, and the Captain of the people. The heads of the Arts therefore, to remedy so great an evil, provided that every Signiory, in the beginning of its office, should appoint a Gonfaloniere di Giustizia, or Standard-bearer of Justice, out of the people, with a thousand men, divided into twenty companies, under him; who were to be always ready with their standard and in arms, whenever they were ordered by the magistracy: and the first that filled this office, was Ubaldo Ruffoli, who drew out his companies, and demolished the houses of the Galleti, because one of that family had killed a fellow citizen in France. The Arts did not meet with much opposition in this establishment, on account of the jealousy and emulation that reigned amongst the nobility, who were not in the least aware that it was levelled at them, till they felt the smart of it; and then indeed, they were not a little awed by it for some time: but in a while they returned to the commission

miſſion of their former outrages: for as ſome of them always found means to inſinuate themſelves into the Signiory, they had it in their power to prevent the Gonfalonier from executing his office. Beſides, as witneſſes were always required upon any accuſation, the plaintiff could hardly ever find any one that durſt give evidence againſt the nobility: ſo that in a ſhort time, Florence was involved in its former diſtractions, and the people again expoſed to violence and oppreſſion; as juſtice was grown dilatory, and ſentence, though paſſed, ſeldom or never executed. The people therefore, not knowing what courſe to take in theſe circumſtances, Giano della Bella, a ſtrenuous Patriot, (though of a very noble family) encouraged the heads of the Arts once more to reform the City: and by his advice, it was enacted, that the Gonfalonier ſhould always reſide with the Signiory, and have four thouſand armed men under his command. They likewiſe entirely excluded the Nobility out of that council, and made a Law, that all acceſſaries or abettors ſhould be liable to the ſame puniſhment with thoſe that were principals in any crime; and further, that common Fame ſhould be ſufficient evidence to convict them. By theſe Laws, which were called, li Ordinamenti della Giuſtizia, the people gained great weight and authority: but Giano della Bella being looked upon by the Nobility as the author and contriver of them to bridle their power, became very odious, not only to them, but to the richeſt of the Commonalty *, who began to think his authority too great, as they plainly ſhewed on the firſt occaſion that offered. For not long after, it happened that one of the Commons was killed in a fray, wherein ſeveral of

* It has been a common piece of policy in all Republics, to diſcountenance and even to depreſs ſuch as are remarkably eminent for virtues of any kind whatſoever. A brave man is ſure to be brow-beaten; and if a perſon is a little more hoſpitable or charitable than his neighbours, he is in danger of the State inquiſition, left his virtues, or even the appearance of them, ſhould make him popular, and enable him to change the form of government. Such is the envy and jealouſy that are uſually incident to Commonwealths.

the Nobility were engaged, and Corſo Donati amongſt the reſt, to whoſe charge the murder was laid, as the moſt active and deſperate of them. Upon which, he was taken into cuſtody by the Captain of the people: but whether he was innocent of the fact, or the Captain was afraid of condemning him, or whatever elſe might be the reaſon, he was acquitted; which ſo enraged the people, that they preſently took up arms, and ran to the houſe of Giano della Bella, entreating him to uſe his endeavours, that the Laws which he had been the author of, might be duly put in execution. Giano was deſirous that Donati ſhould be puniſhed, and therefore, inſtead of exhorting the people to lay down their arms, as many thought he ought to have done, he adviſed them to complain to the Signiory, and demand juſtice of them. But the people, who were incenſed to the laſt degree, thinking themſelves abuſed by their Captain, and abandoned by Giano, did not addreſs themſelves to the Signiory, as they were directed; but ran furiouſly to the Captain's palace and plundered it. A manner of proceeding that was exceedingly reſented by the whole city, and the blame of it being laid upon Giano, by ſuch as meditated his ruin, ſome of his enemies, who afterwards happened to be in the Signiory, accuſed him to the Captain, as an encourager of violence and inſurrection. Whilſt his cauſe was depending, the people took arms, and aſſembled in great numbers before his houſe, offering to protect him againſt the Signiory and all his other enemies: but Giano not caring to truſt to the favour of the populace, nor to commit his life to the determination of the magiſtrates, as he feared the malevolence of the one, no leſs than the fickleneſs of the other, reſolved to ſecure himſelf againſt the jealouſy of his enemies, and his country from the rage of his friends, by giving way to envy, and voluntarily baniſhing himſelf from a city, which he alone had ſo generouſly delivered from the tyranny of the Nobility, at the imminent hazard of his own life and fortune.

After

After his departure, the Nobility, in hopes of recovering their authority which they conceived they had loſt by diſſenſions amongſt themſelves, agreed to unite, and ſent two of their body to entreat the Signiory, (which they thought was in their intereſt) that they would be pleaſed, in ſome meaſure, to mitigate the aſperity of the laws that had been made againſt them. But as ſoon as this petition came to be publickly known, the Commons apprehending the Signiory would comply with it, immediately roſe in a tumultuous manner: ſo that ambition on one ſide, and jealouſy on the other, at laſt occaſioned an open rupture betwixt them. The Nobility were drawn up in three bodies, at St. John's, in the New Market, and the Piazza de Mozzi, and were commanded by Foreſe Adimari, Vanni de Mozzi and Geri Spini: the people likewiſe aſſembled under their colours in great numbers before the palace of the Signiory, (which at that time was not far from the Church of St. Procolo) and being ſuſpicious of the Signiory, they appointed ſix other citizens to act in concert with them. In the mean time, whilſt each party was preparing for an engagement, ſome, both of the Nobility and Commons, with certain eccleſiaſticks that were in great eſteem, interpoſed their good offices to accommodate matters betwixt them; repreſenting to the Nobility, "that the loſs of their authority, and the laws that were made to curb them, were entirely owing to their own arrogance and tyrannical government: that to take up arms in ſuch a juncture, and have recourſe to violence for the recovery of what they had forfeited by their diſſenſions and intolerable behaviour, would be to ruin their country and aggravate their preſent misfortunes: that they ought to conſider the other party was much ſuperior to them in numbers, riches, and popularity: that their Nobility, which they vainly imagined ſet them ſo far above others, was but an empty name, and would ſtand them in little ſtead when they came to blows with an enemy that had ſo many advantages over

them." On the other hand, they ſhewed the people, "how imprudent it would be in them to carry things to extremities, and drive their enemies to deſpair, ſince thoſe that hope no good, fear no evil; that it ought to be remembered that it was the Nobility chiefly which had gained their city ſuch reputation by their bravery in the late wars, and they ought not therefore, either in reaſon or juſtice, to be perſecuted with ſuch a degree of inveteracy: that though they had patiently ſubmitted to be excluded from all ſhare in the magiſtracy, yet it was an inſupportable hardſhip that they ſhould be at every body's mercy, and liable to be driven out of their country upon any little diſguſt by virtue of the new laws: that they would do well to moderate the rigour of them, (an aſſurance of which might poſſibly induce them on the other ſide to lay down their arms) and not be raſhly hurried by too great a confidence in their numbers, to hazard the event of a battle; ſince experience had ſufficiently ſhewn that a handful of deſperate men had often prevailed over a force ſeemingly much ſuperior to them." Various were the opinions of the people upon theſe remonſtrances. Some were for coming immediately to a battle, as a thing that muſt one time or other of neceſſity happen, and that it would be better to do it now they were prepared, than to ſtay till their enemies had ſtrengthened themſelves more effectually: yet if there were any hopes that a mitigation of the laws would content them, they ſhould be mitigated accordingly: but ſuch was their pride and inſolence, that it was much to be feared they would never alter their manner of behaviour, except they were compelled to it by downright force. Others that were more prudent and moderate, thought an alteration of the laws could not be attended with any very bad conſequences to them; but that the iſſue of a battle, if unſucceſsful, might prove fatal. This opinion prevailing, it was ordained, that no accuſation ſhould be admitted againſt a nobleman without ſufficient evidence to ſupport it: and

and though both parties laid down their arms upon these conditions, yet they retained their former jealousy of each other, and began to raise forces and fortify themselves as fast as they could. The people however thought fit to new model the government and reduce the number of the Signiory, (as they suspected some of that body were too favourably inclined to the Nobility) leaving the supreme authority chiefly in the hands of the Mancini, Magalotti, Altoviti, Peruzzi, and Ceretani.

Having thus settled the state in the year 1298, they began to build a securer and more magnificent palace for the Signiory, with a piazza or large area before it, in the place where the houses of the Uberti formerly stood. About the same time, the foundation of the public prisons was also laid; all which edifices were finished in a few years: so that the city was never in a greater splendor nor more happy than at that time; as it abounded in people, riches, and reputation: for there were thirty thousand Citizens at home fit to bear arms, seventy thousand more in their territories, and all the inhabitants of Tuscany, partly as friends, partly as subjects, were at its devotion. And though there were some little sparks of jealousy and envy still remaining betwixt the Nobility and the people, yet they did not openly break out, or produce any bad effect, but every one lived quietly and peaceably with his neighbour: and had not this tranquillity at last been disturbed by fresh discords at home, it would have been in no danger from any other enemy; as it was then in so flourishing a condition, that it neither feared the attempts of the exiles, nor the power of the Emperor, and could have brought a body of forces into the field able to face those of all the other states of Italy put together. The mischief, however, which foreign enemies were not able to do them, whilst they continued thus united, was unhappily effected by new divisions amongst themselves.

1298.

There were two families in Florence, the Cerchi and Donati, both very considerable for their riches,

nobility, and dependants; and as they were near neighbours both in the city and country, there happened ſeveral little diſguſts betwixt them; yet not of ſuch conſequence as to produce an open rupture: and perhaps they might have entirely ſubſided without diſturbing the peace of the public, if they had not been revived by a ſtrange and unexpected accident.—The Cancellieri being one of the chief families in Piſtoia, it happened that Lori the ſon of Guglielmo, and Geri the ſon of Bertaccio, both of that family, being at play together, at laſt fell into a diſpute, and from words proceeded to a rencounter, in which Geri was ſlightly wounded by the other. But when Guglielmo heard of the quarrel, it gave him ſo much uneaſineſs that he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to reconcile them; and inſiſted that his ſon ſhould go to Geri's father and aſk pardon, or at leaſt make an apology for what had happened. This generous ſubmiſſion, however, only ſerved to widen the breach: for when Lori went to wait upon his kinſman, according to his father's deſire, Bertaccio ſaid, "he did not think that was ſufficient ſatisfaction," but ordered his ſervants (as an aggravation to the indignity) to lay hold on him and carry him into a ſtable, where they cut off his right hand upon the manger, with this taunt, "You may now go back to your father, and tell him, that excuſes won't do; ſteel is the only remedy in ſuch caſes." The barbarity of the fact enraged Guglielmo and his friends to ſuch a degree, that they immediately took arms to revenge it: and Bertaccio and his dependants doing the ſame; not only all that family, but the whole city of Piſtoia was engaged in the quarrel, and divided into two parties. Theſe Cancellieri deſcended from one of the ſame name who had two wives, one of whom was called Bianca, or Blanche; from whence that party that adhered to her poſterity took the name of * Bianca; and the other, in oppoſition, diſtinguiſhed itſelf by that of

* Bianca ſignifies white, and Nera black.

Nera.

Nera. Many ſkirmiſhes happened betwixt them, in which numbers of people loſt their lives, and ſome families were entirely ruined: and as no expedient could be found to reconcile them (though both ſides were heartily ſick of the quarrel) they determined to come to Florence, in hopes either of putting an end to it there, by the meditation of their common friends; or if that could not be effected, to ſtrengthen their reſpective parties by drawing other families into them. The Neri having an intimate friendſhip with the Donati, were eſpouſed by Corſo, the head of that family: and the Bianchi, to balance that acquiſition of ſtrength in their adverſaries, had recourſe to Veri, the head of the Cerchi, for their aſſiſtance; a man of no leſs power than Corſo, nor inferior to him in any other reſpect whatſoever.

Theſe ſparks of diſcord, thus blown from Piſtoia to Florence, ſoon revived the former animoſities betwixt the Cerchi and Donati, which began to blaze out again with ſuch fury, that the Signiory and others of the principal citizens were under no ſmall apprehenſion that the whole city would at laſt become engaged in the quarrel, and hourly expected the two parties would openly attack each other. They applied therefore to the Pope, and entreated him to make uſe of his authority to compoſe thoſe differences, which it was not in their power to do: upon which ſollicitation, his Holineſs ſent for Veri to Rome, and earneſtly exhorted him to be reconciled to the Donati. But Veri pretending to be ſurprized, ſaid "there was no quarrel of any kind betwixt them that he knew of, and conſequently there could not be any occaſion to exhort him to a reconciliation." But not long after his return from Rome, their feuds increaſed to ſuch a height, that there only wanted an opportunity (which ſoon after happened) to make them burſt out into action. In the month of May ſeveral holidays are publickly celebrated in Florence; on one of which, ſome young gentlemen of the Donati family with their friends, all on horſe-back, ſtopped near Tri-

Trinity Church to look at ſome women that were dancing: preſently after, as ill fortune would have it, ſeveral of the Cerchi alſo arrived at the ſame place, with many of their acquaintance; and being deſirous to gratify their curioſity in like manner, they ſpurred on their horſes, not knowing the Donati, who were foremoſt in the crowd, and joſtled in amongſt them. The Donati therefore looking upon this as an affront, immediately drew their ſwords; and the Cerchi doing the ſame, a ſkirmiſh enſued, in which many were wounded on both ſides.

This accident was the occaſion of great miſchief: for the whole City, as well Commons as Nobility, divided upon it; ſome taking part with the Bianchi, and others with the Neri. The heads of the Bianca party were the Cerchi, who were joined by the Adimari, the Abbati, part of the Toſinghi, Bardi, Roſſi, Freſcobaldi, Nerli, Mannelli, all the Mozzi, Scali, Gherardini, Cavalcanti, Maleſpini, Boſtichi, Giandonati, Vecchietti, and Ariguzzi, who were followed by many conſiderable families of the Commoners and all the Ghibeline faction in Florence: ſo that in regard to their numbers, they ſeemed to have a great ſuperiority. The other ſide was headed by the Donati, and ſupported by all thoſe of the above mentioned families who did not follow the Bianchi, together with all the Pazzi, Viſdomini, Manieri, Bagneſi, Tornaquinci, Spini, Buondelmonti, Gianfigliazzi, and Brunelleſchi. Nor did this contagion confine itſelf to the city alone, but infected all the country round in ſuch a manner, that the Captains of the Arts, and all thoſe that favoured the Guelphs and were friends to the Commonwealth, began to be very much afraid this new combuſtion would throw the city once more into the hands of the Ghibelines, to its utter ruin. Upon which they ſent again to the Pope, beſeeching him to provide ſome remedy for theſe diſtractions, except he had a mind that their city, which at all times had been the Bulwark of the Church, ſhould either be totally deſtroyed, or at leaſt be-

become ſubject to the Ghibelines. In compliance with their requeſt, the Pope diſpatched Matteo d' Acqua Sparta, a Portugueze Cardinal, as his Legate to Florence; who, finding the party of the Bianchi ſo refractory and confident in their numbers that they refuſed to liſten to any propoſals of peace, left Florence in a rage, and put it under an interdict: ſo that it was in greater confuſion after his departure than before he came thither.

Whilſt the two parties were in this ferment, and ripe for an inſurrection, it happened that ſeveral of the Cerchi and Donati met together at a funeral, where ſome angry words paſſed betwixt them, and from words they came to blows, though no great harm was done at that time on either ſide. But after they had returned to their houſes, the Cerchi reſolved to attack the Donati, and aſſembled all their friends for that purpoſe: in which aſſault, however, they were valiantly repulſed by Corſo, and many of them wounded. Upon this, the whole city took up arms, neither the power of the magiſtracy, nor the authority of the laws being able to reſtrain the fury of the multitude. The wiſeſt and beſt of the Citizens were in great terror: and the Donati being the weaker party, not a little doubtful of their ſafety. It was agreed therefore, at a meeting betwixt Corſo, the heads of the Neri, and the Captains of the Arts, that in order to ſecure themſelves, it was neceſſary the Pope ſhould be ſollicited to ſend ſome perſon of royal extraction to reform the city; imagining this would be the moſt effectual way to get the better of their enemies. This meeting, and the reſult of it, was notified to the Signiory by the other party, who repreſented it as a conſpiracy againſt their liberty. So that both ſides being now in arms again, the Signiory by the advice of Dante (who at that time was one of them) boldly drew out their companies, and being joined by great numbers out of the country, ſoon forced the chiefs of each party to lay down their arms: after which, they baniſhed Corſo Donati and many of the Neri.

And

And to ſhew that they acted with impartiality, they likewiſe baniſhed ſeveral of the Bianchi, who not long after were ſuffered to return upon one plauſible pretence or other. Corſo and his aſſociates were alſo indulged in the ſame manner: and taking it for granted that the Pope was their friend, they went directly to Rome, in hopes of being able to perſuade him to that in a perſonal conference, for which they had lately petitioned his Holineſs in their letters.

Charles of Valois, brother to the King of France, happened to be then at the Court of Rome, being invited into Italy by the King of Naples to make a deſcent upon Sicily. The Pope therefore thought fit (as he was ſo much importuned by the Florentines) to ſend this Prince to ſtay at Florence till the ſeaſon of the year was more proper for navigation. In conſequence of which deputation he went to that city: and though the Bianchi, who then had the upper hand there, looked upon him with an evil eye, yet as he was Patron of the Guelphs and ſent by the Pope, they durſt not oppoſe his coming: on the contrary, to make him their friend, they gave him full power to regulate the city as he thought beſt. He was no ſooner veſted with his authority but he cauſed all his friends and partizans to arm themſelves; which made the people ſo jealous that he intended to deprive them of their liberty, that they alſo took arms, and every man was ready to oppoſe him if he ſhould make any ſuch attempt. The Cerchi and the heads of the Bianchi having had the chief government of the city ſome time in their hands, and behaved with great arrogance, were become generally odious; which encouraged Corſo and others of the Neri who had fled, to return to Florence, upon an aſſurance that Charles and the Captains of the Arts were their friends and would ſupport them. Accordingly whilſt the city was thus alarmed with the apprehenſions of Charles's deſigns, Corſo, with all his aſſociates, and many other of their followers made their entry into it without any ſort of reſiſtance: and though Veri de Cerchi

was

was called upon to oppoſe them, he declined it, and ſaid, "the people of Florence might even chaſtiſe them themſelves if they pleaſed, as they were likely to be the greateſt ſufferers by them." But that inſinuation had no effect; for inſtead of chaſtiſing them, they received them with open arms, whilſt Veri was forced to fly for his ſafety. For Corſo having forced his entrance at the Porta Pinti, drew up and made a ſtand over againſt St. Pietro Maggiore, not far from his own houſe; and being joined by a great number of his friends, and others that had aſſembled there in hopes of a change of government, he in the firſt place releaſed all priſoners, upon what account, and by whomſoever they had been committed: after which he diveſted the Signiory of their authority, and choſe new magiſtrates (all of the party of the Neri) out of the people to ſupply their places. He then plundered the houſes of the chiefs of the Bianchi, for five days together; during which time, the Cerchi and the heads of that Faction ſeeing the people for the moſt part their enemy, and Charles by no means their friend, fled out of the city into ſuch ſtrong places as they were poſſeſſed of: and though they would not liſten to the exhortations of the Pope before, they were now forced to implore his aſſiſtance; repreſenting to his Holineſs that the arrival of Charles there had been ſo far from uniting the city, that it had thrown it into ſtill greater diſtraction. The Pope therefore again ſent his Legate Acqua Sparta to Florence, who not only made an accommodation betwixt the Cerchi and Donati, but fortified it by ſeveral intermarriages in thoſe families. Nevertheleſs, when he inſiſted that the Bianchi ſhould ſhare in the chief offices of the commonwealth, and that was refuſed by the Neri, who were then in full poſſeſſion of them, he left the city with as much diſſatisfaction as he had done before, and excommunicated it a ſecond time for its contumacy. The Neri, on the other hand, ſeeing their old enemies in their boſom again, were not a little afraid they would uſe all means to ruin them,

them, in order to recover their former authority. Thus both parties were ſtill diſcontented: and as if theſe animoſities were not ſufficient to enflame the city, freſh occaſions of diſcord continually happened.

As Niccolò de Cerchi was going one day with ſeveral of his friends to his ſeat in the country, he was aſſaulted by Simone, the ſon of Corſo Donati, at the Ponte ad Africo. The ſkirmiſh was ſharp and bloody; for Niccolò was killed upon the ſpot, and Simone ſo deſperately wounded that he died the ſame night. This accident threw the whole city into an uproar again; and though indeed it was altogether owing to the Neri, yet they were ſkreened by the magiſtracy: and before judgment could be obtained, a conſpiracy was ſaid to be diſcovered betwixt the Bianchi and Pietro Ferrante (a nobleman that attended Charles of Valois) with whom they had been tampering to perſuade his maſter to reinſtate them in the government. The plot was detected by ſome letters from the Cerchi to Pietro; though it was the common opinion they were forged by the Donati, to wipe off the odium they had incurred by the murder of Niccolò Cerchi. However, all the family of the Cerchi, with many of their followers of the Bianca party (and amongſt the reſt Dante the poet) were immediately ſent into baniſhment, their eſtates confiſcated, and their houſes demoliſhed: after which their party, with many of the Ghibelines who had joined them, were diſperſed and ſcattered up and down in different places, where they waited in hopes that ſome new commotion might afford them an opportunity of repairing their loſſes. And Charles having executed the deſign of his errand to Florence, left that city and went back to Rome, that he might proſecute his expedition into Sicily; in which he proceeded with no leſs imprudence and ill ſucceſs than he had done in the affairs of Florence: ſo that after he had loſt many of his men, he returned with infinite diſgrace and contempt into France.

After

After the departure of Charles, Florence continued tolerably quiet for ſome time; though Corſo Donati was ſtill diſſatisfied that he did not enjoy ſuch a degree of authority in it as he thought due to his merits, ſince the government was now in the hands of the people, and conducted by thoſe that were much inferior to him in all reſpects. Exaſperated at this neglect, he meditated revenge: but to varniſh over his deſigns with a fair pretext, he accuſed ſeveral citizens who had been intruſted with the public money, of embezzling it, and applying it to their own private uſes: for which, he ſaid, they ought to be called to account and puniſhed. This ſcandal was likewiſe induſtriouſly propagated by ſeveral others who had the ſame views; and many were ignorant and credulous enough to believe that what Corſo did, was out of pure concern and affection for his country *. But the perſons thus calumniated being in favour with the people, ſtood upon their juſtification: and theſe diſputes, after much litigation and many proceſſes, at laſt grew to ſuch a height that it became abſolutely neceſſary to take up arms. On one ſide, were Corſo and Lottieri, Biſhop of Florence, with many of the Nobility, and ſome of the Commons; on the other, were the Signiory and the greater part of the people: ſo that there was nothing to be ſeen but frays and ſkirmiſhes in every part of the city. The Signiory therefore perceiving themſelves in great danger, ſent to Lucca for aid, and immediately all the people of

* The ſureſt way of gaining the commonalty in democratical governments, is to rail violently at the adminiſtration; and when other topics of defamation are wanting to ambitious and diſcontented men, the charge of peculation and embezzlement of the public money is always at hand, which, though a very ſtale cry, is conſtantly liſtened to with great eagerneſs by the people, (whether true or falſe) whoſe clamours and reſentment it is calculated to excite; as it eaſily falls in with the complaints of *hard times*, *heavy taxes*, &c. which are uſual in every age, and under every government. The authors indeed ſometimes find their account in it, under a weak adminiſtration; but the people are ſeldom or never the better for it under any, nor is it intended they ſhould be. But it ſeems ſtrange, that they ſhould be ſo often gulled into diſaffection and ſedition by ſo trite an artifice, and the vain hopes of reſtitution.

that

that city came to their assistance: by which means, things were accommodated for a time, the tumults composed, and the people satisfied with continuing in possession of their liberty and government, without inflicting any punishment upon the author of this disturbance.

The Pope had been informed of these broils at Florence, and sent his Legate Niccolò da Prato thither to quiet them if possible; who, being a prelate of great experience, address, and reputation, soon gained such an influence over the people, that they gave him a commission to new-model the city as he pleased. And as he rather inclined to favour the Ghibeline faction, he proposed to recall all those of that party who had been banished: but thought it necessary, in the first place, to ingratiate himself still further with the people, by restoring their antient Companies, which added much to their strength, and diminished that of the Nobility. When he thought he had thus sufficiently engaged their affections, he determined to bring back the exiles, and tried several means to effect it: but was so far from succeeding, that he became obnoxious to the Governors, and was forced out of the city, which he left in the utmost confusion, and was provoked to such a degree at the treatment he had met with, that he put it under an interdict at his departure.

Two factions not being sufficient, the city was now divided and subdivided into several, as those of the People and Nobility, the Guelphs and the Ghibelines, the Bianchi and the Neri; and some who wished for the return of the exiles, being disappointed in their hopes now the Legate was gone, grew clamorous and outrageous: so that the whole city was in an uproar, and many skirmishes ensued. Those that were most active in raising this clamour, were the Medici and Giugni, who had openly sided with the Legate in favour of the exiles.

In the midst of those rencounters, which daily happened in all parts of the town, a fire broke out, to add

to

to their confusion, which spread from the Orto di San Michele (where it first began) to the houses of the Abbati, and from thence to those of the Caponsacchi, which were all burnt down to the ground, together with the houses of the Macci, Amieri, Toschi, Cipriani, Lamberti, Cavalcanti, and all the new Market: from whence the flames spread to Porta di Santa Maria, which was entirely consumed; and being driven by the wind towards the old Bridge, they likewise demolished the houses of the Gherardini, Pulci, Amadei, Lucardesi, and so many others, that the number amounted to above thirteen hundred.

Many were of opinion that this misfortune was the effect of accident, and that some houses took fire by chance, whilst the owners of them were engaged in a skirmish which happened at that time. Others affirm, that it was owing to the villany of Neri Abbati, Prior of St. Pietro Scheraggio, a dissolute and abandoned fellow, who, seeing every body so busily employed, took that opportunity of doing a mischief for which there could be no remedy; and that it might succeed the better, and make him less suspected, he also set fire to the houses of his own friends, where he had a convenience of doing it.

It was in July 1304, when Florence was visited in this lamentable manner with fire and sword. At which time, Corso Donati was the only person of any distinction that did not take up arms in those tumults: for he thought that when all sides grew tired of fighting, and inclined to a reconciliation, he was the more likely, upon that account, to be called in as an arbitrator to decide their differences. Accordingly, they soon after laid down their arms, though more out of wearinesS of their miseries, and that they might have time to take breath, than from any real desire of being re-united, and living in peace: for upon the whole, it was only stipulated, that the Exiles should not be suffered to return; which was agreed to by those that favoured them, merely because they proved to be the weaker side. 1304.

The Legate, at his return to Rome, being informed of these new disturbances at Florence, told the Pope, that if he had any desire of composing them, it would be the best way, in his opinion, to send for twelve of the principal malecontents of that City, and to detain them at Rome for some time: for when the fomenters of those evils were removed, it would be an easy matter to extinguish them. This advice was so well approved of by the Pope, that he cited the above-mentioned number of those citizens to appear before him, (amongst whom was Corso Donati) who readily obeyed the summons. But as soon as they were set out upon their journey, the Legate found means to acquaint the Exiles, that if ever they hoped to return to Florence, that was their time, as the City was then clear of the only men that had authority enough to oppose their entrance. Upon this encouragement, the Citizens that had been banished, drawing together what forces they could, immediately marched towards Florence, and not only entered the city in that part where the new walls were not yet thoroughly finished, but advanced as far as the Piazza di St. Giovanni. It is certainly worthy of notice, that those very citizens, who but a little before had exerted themselves in the most strenuous manner for their return, when they petitioned in an humble and submissive manner to be re-admitted, were the first that took up arms against them, now they saw them approach in a hostile manner, and joined with the people to drive them back again, as they effectually did; for such was the spirit of patriotism amongst them in those days, that they chearfully gave up all private interests and friendships for the sake of the publick good. Their miscarriage in this attempt, may chiefly be imputed to leaving part of their forces at Lastra, and not waiting for Tolosetto Uberti, who was advancing with three hundred horse from Pistoia to their assistance; as they imagined expedition was of much greater importance than numbers at that time: and indeed, it is certain, that in such cases, a fair opportunity is often lost by de-

delay; but at the ſame time we muſt conſider, that precipitate enterprizes are ſeldom ſupported by a proper force.

After the Exiles were thus repulſed, the Citizens relapſed into their former diſtractions: and in order to deprive the Cavalcanti of the authority which they had aſſumed, they ſeized upon the Caſtle of Le Stinche, in the Val de Greve, which had been in poſſeſſion of that family for a great number of years: and as thoſe who were then in this Caſtle, were the firſt that were committed to the public priſon which had been lately built, that edifice from thence took the name of Le Stinche, which it ſtill retains. The next ſtep that the governors of the commonwealth took, was to reeſtabliſh the Companies of the People, and to reſtore the Colours under which the Arts had formerly been uſed to aſſemble: the Captains, the Gonfaloniers, or Standard-bearers of the Companies, and the officers of Juſtice, were called together, and ordered not only to aſſiſt the Signiory in times of peace with their counſel, but to ſupport and defend them by dint of arms in all exigencies and commotions. To aſſiſt the two Judges who had been conſtituted in the beginning of their ſtate, they appointed an officer, called *il Eſſecutore*, or Sheriff, who was to act in conjunction with the Gonfaloniers, and to ſee their orders carried into execution, whenever the Nobility ſhould be guilty of any enormity or act of oppreſſion.

But the Pope dying in the mean time, Corſo and the other eleven Citizens, returned to Florence, where they might all have lived in peace, if the reſtleſs ambition of Corſo had not occaſioned freſh troubles. In order to make himſelf popular, he conſtantly oppoſed the Nobility in all their ſchemes, and which way ſoever he obſerved the people to incline, he turned all his authority to ſupport them in it, and gain their affections: ſo that in all conteſts and diviſions, or when they had any extraordinary point to carry, they always reſorted to him, and put themſelves under his directions. This created him much hatred and envy

amongſt the moſt conſiderable Citizens, which at laſt increaſed to ſuch a degree, that the faction of the Neri divided and quarrelled amongſt themſelves, when they ſaw Corſo avail himſelf in ſuch a manner of the affections of the people, and join with the enemies of the public to promote his own private views: yet ſuch was the awe they ſtood in of his perſon and authority, that every one was afraid of him. However, as the moſt likely way to alienate the affections of the people from him, they gave out, that he ſecretly deſigned to ſeize upon the government, and make himſelf King; which it was no difficult matter to make them believe, from his magnificent, and indeed profuſe, manner of living, which far exceeded thoſe bounds of moderation that ought not to be tranſgreſſed by any private Citizen or Subject, andw as calculated, they ſaid, to ſerve ſome dangerous purpoſe. And this ſuſpicion was not a little corroborated, when they ſaw him, ſoon after, married to a daughter of Uguccione della Faggiuola, head of the Bianchi and Ghibelines, and a man of very great intereſt and power in Tuſcany.

As ſoon as this alliance came to the knowledge of his enemies, they grew ſo bold upon it, that they took up arms againſt him; and the greater part of the people, inſtead of appearing in his defence, forſook him and joined his adverſaries; the chief of whom were Roſſo della Toſa, Pazziano de Pazzi, Geri Spini, and Berto Brunelleſchi. Theſe and their friends, with a great multitude of armed men, aſſembled at the ſteps of the Palace of the Signiory, by whoſe command an accuſation was preferred againſt Corſo to Pietro Branca, captain of the people, as a perſon, who, by the aſſiſtance of Uguccione, aſpired to make himſelf abſolute. Upon which impeachment, being cited to appear before him, he refuſed to obey the ſummons; and was therefore declared a contumacious rebel, in leſs than two hours after he had been accuſed. This ſentence being pronounced, the Signiory, with the Companies of the people under

der their ſeveral colours, went directly to apprehend him. Corſo, on the other hand, not in the leaſt diſmayed, either at the rigour of the ſentence, the authority of the Signiory, the number of his enemies, or the inconſtancy of his friends, many of whom had now deſerted him, immediately began to fortify his houſe, in hopes of being able to defend himſelf there, till Uguccione (to whom he had ſent word of the deſperate circumſtances he was in) could come to his relief. The avenues to his houſe were barricaded and guarded by thoſe of his party that ſtill adhered to him, in ſuch a manner, that though the aſſailants were numerous, they could not force their way through them. Many were killed and wounded on both ſides in this action, which was very ſharp: at laſt, the people finding they could not enter that way, got into the neighbouring houſes, and unexpectedly broke through the walls of them into his. Corſo ſeeing himſelf thus ſurrounded on a ſudden by his enemies, and that there was no hope of ſuccour from Uguccione, nor any other refuge left, reſolved to try if it was poſſible to make his eſcape.

Advancing, therefore, with Gherardo Bondini, and ſome others of his moſt reſolute and faithful friends, he made ſo furious an attack upon the enemy, that he broke through them, and fled out of the Porta alla Cruce. However, as they were cloſely purſued, Gherardo was killed by Boccaccio Caviciulli, upon the Ponte ad Africo, and Corſo taken priſoner at Rovezzano, by ſome Catalan horſe that were in the pay of the Signiory. But as he could not endure the thoughts of being inſulted, and perhaps torn to pieces by a victorious enemy, he threw himſelf from his horſe to the ground, as they were bringing him back to Florence, where he was ſlain by one of the guards: his body was afterwards picked up by the monks of St. Salvi, and interred without any ſolemnity, or ſepulchral honours. Such was the unfortunate end of Corſo Donati, to whom his country, and the Neri, owed much, both of their good and bad fortune:

without doubt, if he had not been of ſo reſtleſs a diſpoſition, his memory would have been held in greater honour. However, his name deſerves to be ranked amongſt thoſe of the moſt eminent men that our city has ever produced; though indeed, it cannot be denied, that the turbulency of his ſpirit made both his country and party forget their obligations to him, and at laſt, was not only the cauſe of his own death, but brought many evils upon them. Uguccione had advanced as far as Remoli, in his way to Florence, with ſupplies to relieve his ſon-in-law; but being informed there, that he was fallen into the hands of the people, and imagining that all ſuccour would then be too late, he thought it the moſt prudent way to turn back again, as he might otherwiſe very likely prejudice himſelf, without being able to do him any ſervice.

After the death of Corſo, which happened in the
1308 year 1308, all tumults ceaſed, and every body lived quietly, till news arrived that Henry the Emperor, was come into Italy with all the Florentine Exiles in his army, whom he had promiſed to reinſtate in their country. The Magiſtrates, therefore, in order to diſtreſs him, and leſſen the number of their enemies, granted a free pardon to all ſuch as had been rebels, and invited them to return; exeepting ſome particular perſons expreſsly mentioned. Thoſe that were excluded, were moſtly of the Ghibeline faction, and certain of the Bianchi; amongſt whom, were Dante Alighieri, the Sons of Veri de Cerchi, and of Giano della Bella. They likewiſe ſent to ſollicit the aſſiſtance of Robert, King of Naples, but not being able to obtain it as allies, they gave him the government of their City for five years, upon condition that he would defend and protect them as his ſubjects. The Emperor, in his paſſage, arrived at Piſa, and from thence came to Rome, where he was crowned, in the year
1312 1312; and being determined to humble the Florentines, he marched by the way of Perugia and Arezzo to Florence, and ſat down with his army at the Monaſtery

naſtery of St. Salvi, about a mile from the city, where he continued fifty days without gaining any advantage. At laſt, when he found that enterprize not likely to ſucceed as he expected, he returned to Piſa, and entered into a confederacy with Frederick, King of Sicily, in order to make an attempt upon Naples. For which purpoſe, he marched that way with his army; but at a time when he thought himſelf ſure of ſucceſs, and Robert was ſo frighted that he gave up his kingdom for loſt, the Emperor died at Buonconvento.

It happened not long after, that Uguccione della Faggiuola firſt made himſelf maſter of Piſa, and then of Lucca, by the aſſiſtance of the Ghibelines; from whence he committed great depredations upon the neighbouring ſtates. The Florentines, therefore, to free themſelves from the terror occaſioned by his incurſions into their territories, invited Peter, King Robert's brother, to come and take upon him the command of their forces. Uguccione, on the other hand, neglected no opportunity, in the mean time, of adding to the power he had already acquired, and partly by force, partly by artifice, had made himſelf maſter of ſeveral caſtles in the Vales of Arno and Nievole: from whence he proceeded to lay ſiege to Monte Catini, where the Florentines reſolved to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to ſtop his career, and extinguiſh a flame that otherwiſe might poſſibly devour their whole country. For this purpoſe, having raiſed a very powerful army, they marched into the Vale of Nievole, where they gave battle to Uguccione, and were utterly defeated, after a bloody engagement, in which they loſt above two thouſand men, beſides their General Peter, the King's brother, whoſe body could never be found. The victory, however, was not attended with any great rejoicings on the ſide of Uguccione, as one of his ſons, and many other officers of diſtinction, were killed in it.

After this overthrow, the Florentines immediately began to fortify the towns round about them, and

applied to King Robert for another General; upon which, he ſent them the Count di Andria, commonly called Count Novello, whoſe bad conduct, added to the impatient temper of the Florentines (which is ſoon tired of any form of government, and ready to fall into factions upon every accident) occaſioned the city to divide again, notwithſtanding the war they were engaged in with Uguccione; and ſome declared for King Robert, and ſome againſt him. The chief of his enemies were Simone della Toſa, the Magalloti, and ſome other popular families who had the greateſt power in the government. Theſe perſons ſent firſt into France, and then into Germany, to raiſe men and invite officers, in order to rid themſelves of their new Governor; but unfortunately they could not procure either. As however they were determined to carry their point, and as neither Germany nor France would ſupply them with a Governor, they choſe one from the neighbourhood; and having taken arms and drove the Count out of the city, they ſent for one Lando of Agobio, and made him their Effecutore, or ra- their Executioner, with full power over all the Citizens. Lando, being naturally cruel and rapacious, went about the city with a gang of armed men at his heels, hanging up firſt one man and then another, as thoſe that had ſent for him gave him directions, and at laſt grew ſo inſolent, that he coined bad money with the Florentine ſtamp, which no body had courage enough to oppoſe: to ſuch a height of power had he arrived by the diſſenſion of the citizens! Miſerable indeed, and much to be lamented was the condition of the city at that time, which neither the bitter remembrance of the evils produced by their former diviſions, nor the dread of a foreign enemy at their gates, nor the authority of a King, was ſufficient to keep united; though their poſſeſſions were at the ſame time daily ravaged and plundered, abroad by Uguccione, and at home by Lando.

Lando of Agobbio. Nerli. p. 10

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The Nobility, moſt of the conſiderable Commoners, and all the Guelphs, took the King's ſide, and hated Lando and thoſe that ſupported him: but as their enemies had the power in their hands, they could not declare themſelves publickly without extreme danger. However, that they might not ſeem wanting in any endeavours to free themſelves from ſo ignominious a yoke, they wrote privately to King Robert, and entreated him to appoint Count Guido da Buttifolle his Lieutenant at Florence, which he readily complied with: and the other party (though they had the Signiory on their ſide) durſt not venture to oppoſe a man of ſo eſtabliſhed a reputation. But the Count ſoon found he had very little authority in the city, as the Magiſtracy and the Gonfaloniers of the ſeveral companies openly favoured Lando and his friends.

During theſe troubles in Florence, the daughter of Albert, King of Bohemia, paſſed through that city (to meet her huſband Charles, the ſon of King Robert) where ſhe was received by the King's friends with great honour; and, upon their complaints of the miſerable condition of the city, and the tyranny of Lando and his party, ſhe uſed her good offices ſo effectually, and obtained them ſo many grants and favours from the King before ſhe left them, that the Citizens were at laſt reconciled and re-united, Lando deprived of his authority, and ſent back again to Agobbio, ſatiated with blood and rapine. After his departure, there enſued another reform in the State, by which, the government of the city was continued to the King for three years longer: and as the ſeven that were then in the Signiory were all of Lando's party, ſix others were added to them of the King's and they continued thirteen for ſome time; but were afterwards reduced to ſeven again, their former number. About this time, Uguccione was driven out of Lucca and Piſa, and ſucceeded in the government of thoſe two cities by Caſtruccio Caſtracani, a Lucchese; who being a ſpirited young man and fortunate in all his

his undertakings, very ſoon became the head of the Ghibeline faction in Tuſcany. The Florentines therefore laying aſide their private diſcords, were chiefly employed for ſeveral years in endeavouring to obſtruct the growth of Caſtruccio's power; and afterwards, when they found that to no purpoſe, in taking proper meaſures to defend themſelves againſt him. And that the Signiory might proceed with maturer deliberation, and execute with greater authority, they choſe twelve Citizens whom they called Buonhuomini, without whoſe advice and conſent, the Signiory were not to paſs any act of importance.

In the mean time the dominion of king Robert expired, and the government once more reverted to the Citizens, who again ſet up the ſame form of magiſtracy that had been formerly inſtituted, and continued united whilſt they were in ſo much fear of Caſtruccio; who, after many enterprizes againſt the Governors of Lunigiana, at laſt ſat down before Prato. The Florentines alarmed at this news, reſolved to relieve it, and for that purpoſe, having ſhut up their ſhops, they marched towards that place with twenty thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred horſe, but in a tumultuous and diſorderly manner. And to leſſen the force of Caſtruccio and add to their own, a Proclamation was iſſued by the Signiory, that every exile of the Guelph party, who came in to the relief of Prato, ſhould afterwards have liberty to return home: which had ſo good an effect, that they were joined by above four thouſand of them, and their army became ſo formidable by this reinforcement that they marched with all expedition to Prato. But Caſtruccio being afraid of ſo great a force, and not caring to run the hazard of a battle, retreated to Lucca.

Upon this retreat, there aroſe great diſputes in the camp of the Florentines, betwixt the Nobility and the people. The people would have purſued him and forced him to an engagement, in hopes that a victory would have totally ruined him: but the Nobility thought it more prudent to return; alledging, they had

had already ſufficiently expoſed their own city for the relief of Prato, which in ſuch a caſe of neceſſity was unavoidable: but, now there was no manner of occaſion, little to be gained, and much to be loſt, it would be madneſs to tempt fortune. After long debates, without coming to any reſolution, the matter was referred to the Signiory, which, conſiſting of Commoners as well as Nobility, fell into the ſame difference of opinions: and this coming to be known in the city, a vaſt number of the people aſſembled in the Piazza, and threatened the Nobility to ſuch a degree that they were terrified and gave way to them. But as it was ſo late before they came to ſuch a reſolution, and even then againſt the inclination of many, the enemy had ſufficient time to retire in ſafety to Lucca: at which the people were ſo exaſperated againſt the Nobility, that the Signiory refuſed to perform the promiſe they had made, by their deſire, to the exiles that came in upon the proclamation. The exiles hearing of this, reſolved on their part to force their way into the city if poſſible, and accordingly preſented themſelves at the gates, to be admitted before the reſt of the army came up: but this attempt being foreſeen and expected, did not ſucceed, for they were driven back again by thoſe that were left in the town. They endeavoured therefore to obtain by treaty what they could not by force, and ſent eight deputies to remind the Signiory of their promiſe, and the dangers they had expoſed themſelves to in conſequence of it, and that they relied upon their good faith for the ſtipulated recompence of their ſervices. The Nobility, therefore, having joined in that promiſe with the Signiory, and given their word that they would ſee it performed, thought themſelves obliged in honour to uſe all their intereſt in favour of the exiles, which they did: but the Commons being enraged that the enterprize againſt Caſtruccio had not been proſecuted as they thought it ought to have been, would not concur with them; which afterwards brought not only great diſgrace, but alſo much trou-

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ble upon the city. For many of the Nobility being disgusted at this denial, resolved to have recourse to other expedients, and promised the Guelphs, that if they would appear in arms before the city, they would also raise an insurrection within it to assist them. But this design being discovered the day before it was to have been put in execution, when the exiles came up they found the Citizens ready armed, and in such order, not only to repel them, but to suppress any rising within the walls, that no body durst offer to move: so that they gave up the enterprize and drew off again without making any further effort at that time. After their departure, it was thought fit that those persons should be punished who had invited them thither: nevertheless, though every one knew who the delinquents were, yet no body durst so much as point them out, much less accuse them. But that the truth might be told without reserve, it was ordered, that any members of the general council should be allowed to write down their names upon a piece of paper and deliver it privately to the Captain of the people: which being done, the persons accused were, Amerigo Donati, Tegghiaio Frescobaldi, and Lotteringo Gherardini, whose judges being more favourable than perhaps their crimes deserved, they were only fined a certain sum of money and discharged.

From the tumults which happened in Florence upon the approach of the exiles, it plainly appeared, that one Captain only in every Company of the people was not sufficient: it was ordered therefore, that each Company for the future should have three or four, and that every Gonfalonier should have two or three other Ensigns under him called Pennonnieri, that so upon any emergency, when the whole Company could not be drawn out, some part of it might be employed under one of those officers. And as it generally happens in all commonwealths, that after any revolution or remarkable crisis, some or other of the old laws are abrogated and new ones made in their room; so though the Signiory at first was changed every two months,

months, yet the magiſtrates that were then in office, having great power, took upon themſelves to conſtitute a Signory out of all the moſt conſiderable Citizens, to continue forty months, whoſe names were to be put into a Bag or Purſe, and a certain number of them drawn out by lot at the end of every ſecond month. This method of election at firſt was called Imborſatione and afterwards Squittino. But, as many of the citizens began to ſuſpect their names were not in the Purſe, there was a freſh Imborſation before the forty months expired. From hence aroſe the uſe of the Purſe in creating all their Magiſtrates both at home and abroad, which continued for a conſiderable time: whereas before, when the old Magiſtrates went out of office, new ones were always choſen by the council. And as this was not to be renewed till after a term of above three years, it was thought they had in a great meaſure extinguiſhed the cauſes of all ſuch diſguſts and tumults as uſed to happen from the frequent return of Elections and the number of Competitors for the Magiſtracy: ſuch was the remedy which for want of a better, they were forced to provide againſt thoſe evils, not being aware how little advantage and how many miſchiefs were likely to flow from it.

In the year 1325, Caſtruccio having ſeized upon Piſtoia, was become ſo formidable, that the Florentines beginning to ſtand in great awe of him, reſolved to attack him before he had eſtabliſhed himſelf in his new dominion, and if poſſible, to wreſt it out of his hands agian. In conſequence of which, they aſſembled twenty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe (moſt of whom were Florentines and the reſt allies) and encamped before Alto Paſcio; by the reduction of which they hoped to prevent any relief from being thrown into Piſtoia. In this enterprize they ſucceeded, and from thence advanced towards Lucca, ſpoiling and ravaging the whole country: but by the ill conduct and treachery of Ramondo da Cardona, their commander in chief, they reaped but little advantage from this progreſs. For as he ſaw the

1325

the Florentines had been ſo liberal in diſpoſing of themſelves, that they had ſometimes conferred their government upon Kings, ſometimes upon Legates, and ſometimes upon perſons of much inferior quality, he thought if he could reduce them to any extremity, they perhaps would make him their Prince. For this purpoſe, he was very importunate with them to give him the ſame command in the city that he had over their army; as he pretended he could not otherwiſe either require or expect that neceſſary obedience which was due to a General. But finding the Florentines did not care to comply with this demand, he trifled away his time in doing nothing, whilſt Caſtruccio omitted no opportunity of taking the advantage that his indolence afforded him. For the latter having reinforced himſelf with ſupplies from the Viſconti and other Princes of Lombardy, Ramondo, who before might have gained a victory, if he had not betrayed his maſters, now behaved in ſo unſoldier like a manner that he could not even make his eſcape from the enemy; but whilſt he was retreating from them by very ſhort and ſlow marches, he was overtaken and attacked by Caſtruccio near Alto Paſcio, where, after an obſtinate engagement, in which his forces were utterly routed, and great numbers of the Citizens either killed or taken priſoners, he himſelf alſo loſt his life, receiving that puniſhment from the hands of fortune, which his perfidy and ambition had merited from the Florentines.

The havock which Caſtruccio made in the territories of Florence after this victory, the depredations, impriſonments, burnings, and every other kind of devaſtation, are not to be deſcribed: for as he had nobody to make head againſt him for ſeveral months, he over-ran the whole country, and did what he pleaſed, whilſt the Florentines thought it no ſmall matter to ſave their city after ſuch a defeat. Nevertheleſs, they were not reduced to ſo low an ebb, but they raiſed large ſums of money, aſſembled forces, and ſent to their allies for aſſiſtance: but no pro-

provisions were sufficient to stop the progress of such an enemy. They were forced therefore, to make an offer of their government to Charles Duke of Calabria and son to King Robert, upon condition that he would undertake to defend them; for as that family had been used to rule over them, they chose rather to shelter themselves under him as their Prince, than to trust to him as an ally. But Charles himself being engaged in the wars of Sicily, sent Gualtier (a Frenchman, and Duke of Athens) as his Lieutenant, to take possession of the government, who new modelled the Magistracy as he thought fit. His behaviour, however, was so modest and temperate, and so contrary to his true natural disposition, (as shall be shewn hereafter) that he gained the affections of every one.

After the wars in Sicily were over, Charles came in person to Florence, with a thousand horse, and made his entry in July 1326. His arrival gave some check to Castruccio, and prevented him from roving about the country and plundering it without controul, as he had done before. But, if the citizens saved any thing abroad, it was lost again at home; and when their enemies were thus curbed, they became a prey to the insolence and oppression of their friends: for as the Signiory were entirely under the influence of the Duke, he exacted four hundred thousand florins from the city in the space of one year, though it was expresly stipulated in the agreement made with him, that he should not raise above two hundred thousand in the whole: besides which, either Charles, or his Father, were continually laying some heavy tax or other upon the Citizens. 1326

These miseries were still increased by new jealousies and fresh enemies. For the Ghibelines of Lombardy were so alarmed at the arrival of Charles in Tuscany, that Galeazzo Visconti, and other Princes of that province, by dint of money and fair promises, prevailed upon Lewis of Bavaria, (who had been elected Emperor, contrary to the Pope's inclination) to march into Italy with an army. In consequence of which, he came

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into Lombardy, and from thence advancing into Tuſcany, made himſelf maſter of Piſa, by the aſſiſtance of Caſtruccio; and having received a conſiderable ſupply of money, he marched on towards Rome. Upon which, Charles began to think the kingdom of Naples in no ſmall danger; and leaving Philippo Saginetto his Lieutenant at Florence, he returned thither in all haſte with the forces that he had brought along with him. After his departure, Caſtruccio ſeized upon Piſa, and the Florentines having got poſſeſſion of Piſtoia by treaty, he marched immediately to recover it, and carried on the ſiege with ſo much vigour and reſolution, that though the Florentines made many attempts to relieve it, ſometimes by attacking his army, ſometimes by making incurſions into his other territories, yet, all their endeavours were ineffectual: for ſo firmly determined was he to chaſtiſe Piſtoia, and keep the Florentines under, that the Piſtoians were forced to ſurrender and receive him once more for their Lord; by which he acquired great reputation; but ſoon after fell ſick and died in the
1328. midſt of his victories, as he was returning to Lucca. And as it generally happens, that either fortunate or unfortunate accidents are attended by others of the ſame kind, Charles, Duke of Calabria, and Lord of Florence, died at Naples much about the ſame time. So that the Florentines were ſuddenly and unexpectedly delivered from the oppreſſion of one, and the dread of the other; and having once more recovered their liberty, began to reform the commonwealth again, abrogating the Laws and Ordinances of all former councils, and creating two new ones in their room, one of which conſiſted of three hundred of the Commons, the other of two hundred and fifty, of both Commoners and Nobility; the former was called the *Council of the People*, the latter, *the Common Council*.

The Emperor, upon his arrival at Rome, ſet up an Antipope, did many things to the prejudice of the Church, and attempted ſeveral others, which he was

not able to effect *: upon which, he left Rome with no little dishonour, and went to Pisa, where eight hundred German horse, either for want of pay, or because they were dissatisfied with his conduct, immediately mutinied and fortified themselves at Montechiaro upon the Ceruglio. These forces, after he was gone from Pisa, towards Lombardy, made themselves masters of Lucca, and drove out Francisco Castracani, whom the Emperor had deputed to govern it; and being desirous to make the best of it, they offered it to the Florentines for twenty thousand florins, which they refused to give, by the advice of Simone della Tosa. Happy had it been for their city, if the Florentines had persevered in that resolution: but as they soon after changed their mind, it was of very great prejudice to them; for though they refused it when they might have had the peaceable possession of it at so cheap a rate, they were afterwards obliged to pay a much larger sum for it, and could not keep it when they had done; which gave occasion to many subsequent disturbances and changes of government in Florence.

The purchase of Lucca being thus rejected by the Florentines, it was bought by Gherardino Spinoli, a

* The Pope had excommunicated him in 1328, and declared him to have forfeited the empire Lewis, on the other hand, employed several pens to write against the Pope, whom he stiled James of Cahors. And not contenting himself with this, he entered Italy the next year, and set up a certain Franciscan, called Pietro Ramuccio de Corberia, as Antipope, by the name of Nicholas V. who crowned Lewis, and declared John XXII. an Heretic, and that he had forfeited the Papacy. This violent manner of proceeding offended the Emperor's friends to such a degree, that they deserted him; so that he afterwards desired to be reconciled to Benedict XII. in 1336, and to Clement VI. in 1344. But being unwilling to submit to the conditions that were offered him, viz. That he should surrender the empire and all his estates to the Church, and hold them only at the good will of the Pope, he was declared "obstinate and contumacious." And at the sollicitation of Clement VI. and Philip of Valois, King of France, (whom Lewis had provoked, by siding with Edward III. King of England against him) the Electors chose in his room, Charles of Luxembourg, who was the fourth Emperor of that name. This was in 1346. Lewis died the next year of poison, or as others say, by a fall from his horse, at the age of sixty-three. Bzov. Annal.

Genoese, for thirty thousand Florins. But as it is the nature of mankind to be cool and indifferent about such things as are proffered them, and eager in their desires to obtain what is difficult, or out of their reach; so when the Florentines heard that city was sold for such a trifle, they were exceedingly dissatisfied that they had it not themselves, and angry at those who had dissuaded them from buying it: however, as it was now too late, they resolved to take it by force; and for that purpose, sent their army to make an incursion into the territories of the Lucchese. In the mean time, the Emperor had quitted Italy; and the Antipope, by order of the Pisans, was sent prisoner into France.

After the death of Castruccio, which happened in
1328 the year 1328, the Florentines continued quiet at
1340 home, till 1340, and intent only upon their affairs abroad: during which time, they were engaged in several wars, especially in Lombardy, upon the coming of John, King of Bohemia *, into that province; and in Tuscany, on the account of Lucca. They likewise raised several new and beautiful edifices in their city, particularly the Tower of St. Reparata, after a plan given them by Giotto †, the most cele-

* He was a Prince of great courage, and distinguished himself as such in these wars, before which he had taken upon himself the title of King of Poland, and waged war against the possessor of the crown there. He lost one of his eyes in battle, and going to Montpelier to try if he could find any relief from the physicians there, a Jewish Doctor, whom he employed, treated him in so unskilful a manner, that he deprived him of the other. Upon this occasion, the King of Poland, as it is reported, sent him word, that he desired they two only might decide their quarrels in a private room, with each a ponyard in his hand. But King John returned for answer, "that he must first pull out both his eyes to make the duel equal." His blindness did not prevent him from going to war in person. He went into France with succours to the aid of Philip of Valois, and was not only present, but fought bravely at the battle of Cressy, which the French lost, August 26, 1346. He caused his horse to be fastened by the bridle to one of the best horsemen he had, and then rushed furiously into the thick of the enemy, sword in hand, where he was at last killed, as might be well expected. Charles IV. his son, King of Bohemia and Emperor, gives a fuller account of all these things in the Memoirs of his father's Life.

† This Giotto was scholar to Ciambue, and born near Florence, in the year 1276. He was a good Sculptor and Architect, as well as a bet-

brated painter and architect of those times: and in the year 1333, after an inundation of the Arno, in which the water rose twelve yards perpendicular in some parts of Florence, carried away several bridges, and demolished many houses, they repaired all with great diligence and expence. But in the year 1340, new disturbances arose. 1333. 1340

The governors of the City had two ways of maintaining and increasing their authority. One was, by managing the Imborsations in such a manner, as always to secure the Signiory either to themselves or their creatures; the other, by getting Rettori, or Judges chosen, who they knew would be favourable to them in their sentences and determinations. The latter of which expedients, they thought of such importance, that, not content with two Judges, as they had been formerly, they sometimes constituted a third, whom they called Captain of the Guards; with which office, they had now vested Jacomo Gabrieli d'Agobbio, and given him an absolute power over the Citizens. This Jacomo, under the direction of the governors, behaved with the most shameless insolence and partiality, daily injuring or affronting some body or other, particularly Pietro de Bardi, and Bardo Frescobaldi; who being nobly born, and men of high spirit, were provoked to such a degree, that a stranger should be introduced into the city by a few of their fellow-citizens that had the power in their hands, on purpose to insult and abuse all the rest, that they entered into a conspiracy with many other noble families, and some of the Commoners, that were disgusted at so tyrannical a government, to revenge themselves, both upon him and those that had

a better Painter, than his Master: for he began to shake off the stiffness of the Greek manner, endeavouring to give a freer air to his Heads, with more of nature in his colouring, and easier attitudes to his figures. His best piece is still in one of the Churches at Florence, representing the Death of the Virgin Mary, with the Apostles round about her. The attitudes of which Story, Michael Angelo used to say, could not be better designed. See Fresnoy's Art of Painting, p. 254.

been the occaſion of his coming thither. For this purpoſe, it was agreed amongſt the conſpirators, that every one of them ſhould get together as many armed men as he could in his houſe; and that on the morning after the Feſtival of All Saints, when the people were gone to Church to pray for the ſouls of their departed friends †, they ſhould take up arms, kill the Captain and principal Governors, and make new laws and magiſtrates to reform the State. But as it generally happens, that when deſperate reſolutions come to be maturely conſidered, many dangers and impediments occur, which damp the ardour of the Conſpirators; ſo plots that are not ſpeedily executed, are for the moſt part unſucceſsful, as this was. For Andrea de Bardi, one of the accomplices, weighing the matter coolly, and being more effectually moved by the terror of puniſhment than the deſire of revenge, diſcovered the whole to his kinſman Jacomo Alberti, who immediately communicated it to the Magiſtracy. And as the day appointed for their riſing was very near at hand, many of the Citizens aſſembled in the Palace; and judging it dangerous to wait any longer, they adviſed the Signiory to have the Alarm-Bell rung, and the Companies called together. Taldo Valori was chief Gonfalonier at that time, and Franciſco Salviati one of the Signiory: and as they were allied to the Bardi, they oppoſed that meaſure, and ſaid it would be a dangerous thing to arm the people upon every trifling accident, becauſe it was never known that power given to the multitude, without ſufficient authority to reſtrain them, had produced any good effect; and that it was a much eaſier matter to raiſe a tumult than to compoſe one: they thought it would be more prudent, therefore, to enquire into the truth of the matter, and if they found ſufficient reaſon, to puniſh

† This event therefore happened on the 2d of November, 1340 which is commonly called All Souls Day, as the Romiſh Church ſet it apart *in commemorationem omnium fidelium defunctorum*, or, "Prayer for all thoſe that have departed this life in the true faith."

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the offenders by due courſe of law, than to run tumultuouſly into arms, only upon a bare report, and proceed in ſuch a manner, as perhaps might be the utter ruin of their city. But theſe arguments were all to no purpoſe: for the Signiory were ſo threatened and inſulted by the other Citizens, that they were forced to cauſe the Bell to be rung; at the ſound of which, all the people took arms and ran directly to the Piazza before the Palace. On the other hand, the Bardi and Freſcobaldi, perceiving they were betrayed, and being reſolved either to conquer or die honourably, likewiſe took arms, in hopes that they ſhould be able to defend themſelves in that part of the City, which lies on the other ſide of the River, where moſt of their houſes ſtood. For which purpoſe, they fortified the Bridges over it, and there made head againſt the enemy, in expectation that many of the Nobility and others of their friends would come out of the Country to their aſſiſtance. But this was prevented, by the people that lived in the ſame part of the city with them, who took up arms for the Signiory: ſo that when they found they were likely to be attacked by them alſo, they abandoned the Bridges, and retired into the ſtreet where the Bardi lived, as ſtronger than any of the reſt, and there made a brave defence.

In the mean time, Jacomo d'Agobbio, well knowing this Conſpiracy was chiefly bent againſt him, thought his life in great danger, and was frighted to ſuch a degree, that he ran trembling to ſecure himſelf in the midſt of the armed men who were aſſembled before the Palace of the Signiory: but the other Judges who had not been guilty of the ſame injuſtice and oppreſſion, were more courageous, eſpecially Maffeo da Maradi, the Podeſtà, who ran to the place where they were fighting, and paſſing the Bridge Rubaconte, undauntedly threw himſelf into the thickeſt of the ſkirmiſh, and made a ſign for a Parley. Upon which, out of reverence to his Perſon, his courage, and many other good qualities, they laid

down their arms, and ſtood patiently to hear him, whilſt in a modeſt and pathetic harangue, he blamed the Bardi for their manner of proceeding, ſhewed them the danger they were in from the fury of the people if they did not deſiſt, gave them hopes that their cauſe ſhould be favourably heard, and promiſed that he himſelf would not only intercede for their pardon, but ſee that they ſhould have all reaſonable ſatisfaction and redreſs for their grievances: after which he went to the Signiory and exhorted them not to attempt a Victory, in which ſo many of their fellow-citizens muſt inevitably periſh, nor to paſs any ſentence upon them unheard. In ſhort, his mediation had ſuch an effect, that the Bardi and Freſcobaldi, with many of their friends, being allowed by the Signiory to leave the city, retired to their caſtles in the Country without any impediment or moleſtation.

After they were gone and the people diſarmed, the Signiory proceeded againſt ſuch only of the Families of the Bardi and Freſcobaldi as had actually been in arms: and to leſſen their power, they bought the Caſtles of Mangona and Vernia of the Bardi, and made a law that no Citizen for the future ſhould poſſeſs any Caſtle within twenty miles of Florence. Not many months after, Stiatta Freſcobaldi was beheaded, and ſeveral others of that family proclaimed Rebels. However, it did not ſufficiently ſatiate the revenge of thoſe in the adminiſtration, to have conquered and ſuppreſſed thoſe families: but, like almoſt all other men (whoſe inſolence commonly increaſes with their power) they grew more imperious and arbitrary as they grew ſtronger: for though they had only one Captain of the Guards to tyrannize over the city before, they now appointed another, to reſide in the Country, and veſted him with very great authority: ſo that any one who was in the leaſt obnoxious to the government, could not live quietly either within the city or without it. The Nobility in particular were daily abuſed and inſulted by them in ſuch a manner, that

that they only waited for an opportunity to revenge themſelves at any rate: and as one ſoon after happened, they did not fail to take the advantage of it.

During the many troubles that had happened in Tuſcany and Lombardy, the city of Lucca was fallen under the Dominion of Maſtino dell Scala Lord of Verona, who, though he was under an engagement to give it up to the Florentines, did not think fit to perform it: for as he was alſo Lord of Parma, and imagined he was ſtrong enough to maintain himſelf in poſſeſſion, he made little account of that promiſe. The Florentines, to revenge this breach of faith, joined the Venetians, and made ſo vigorous a war upon him, that he was in great danger of loſing all his territories: but they got little by it in the end, except the ſatisfaction of having diſtreſſed their enemy. For the Venetians, according to the cuſtom of all States that enter into any league or alliance with others, that are weaker than themſelves, having ſeized upon Trevigi and Vicenza, made a ſeparate peace, without any regard to the intereſt of their Confederates. Soon after, the Viſconti, Lords of Milan, took Parma from Maſtino, who finding himſelf no longer able to keep Lucca after ſuch a diminution of his ſtrength, reſolved to ſell it. The Florentines and Piſans were competitors in the purchaſe; but whilſt they were bartering for it, the Piſans ſeeing they ſhould be out-bid, as they were not ſo rich as the others, had recourſe to arms, and, joining with the Viſconti, laid ſiege to the town. The Florentines, however, were not at all diſcouraged at this, but proceeded in their bargain, and having agreed upon the price, paid down part of the money to Maſtino, and gave him Hoſtages for the reſt: in conſequence of which, Naddo Rucellai, Giovanni Bernardino de Medici, and Roſſo the ſon of Ricciardo de Ricci, were ſent to take poſſeſſion; who forcing their way into the town through the Piſan Camp, were received by Maſtino, and had it delivered into their hands. The Piſans, nevertheleſs, continued the ſiege, and endea-

voured by all possible means to make themselves masters of the place: and the Florentines, on the other hand, were no less sollicitous to relieve it: but after a long struggle they were at last driven out of it, with much dishonour and the loss of all their purchase-money. This disaster (as it usually happens in the like cases) threw the people of Florence into such a rage against their Governors, that they publickly insulted and upbraided them with their ill conduct and administration, in all places and upon every opportunity.

In the beginning of the war, the management of it had been committed to twenty Citizens, who appointed Malatesta da Rimini Commander in Chief of their forces in that Expedition: but as he executed that charge with little courage and less discretion, they sollicited Robert, King of Naples, for supplies; which he accordingly sent them under the command of Gualtier, Duke of Athens, who, as the evil destiny of the city would have it, arrived there just at the time when the enterprize against Lucca had miscarried. Upon his coming, the twenty superintendants of the war, seeing the people enraged to the highest degree, thought either to sooth them with fresh hopes, and take away all further occasion of obloquy, or to bridle them effectually by chusing a new General: and as they were still in great fear of the multitude, they first made the Duke of Athens Conservator of the Peace, and then their Commander in Chief, that he might have both authority and power sufficient to defend them. But as many of the Nobility had been formerly acquainted with Gualtier (when he was Governor of Florence, for Charles, Duke of Calabria) and were still highly discontented for the reasons above-mentioned, they resolved, now they had so fair an opportunity, to take their revenge, even though it should occasion the destruction of the city; imagining there was no other way left to get the better of the people, who had so long domineered over them, but to reduce them into subjection to a

Prince,

Prince, who being well acquainted with the worth and generofity of the Nobility and the infolence of the Commons, might treat both parties according to their deferts: befides which considerations, they presumed he would fhew them no little favour, if he fhould obtain the fupreme Government of the city, chiefly by their affiftance and co-operation. To facilitate thefe defigns, they had many private meetings, at which they earneftly perfuaded him to take the government wholly into his hands, and promifed to fupport him with all their intereft and power. Several of the moft confiderable Commoners likewife joined them, particularly the families of the Peruzzi, Acciaiuoli, Antellefi, and Buonaccorfi, who had contracted great debts, and not being able to pay them out of their own eftates, were defirous of getting thofe of other people into their hands; and to free themfelves from the importunity of their Creditors, were ready to enflave their Country. Such encouragement and fo fair an opportunity, inflamed the Duke, who was naturally ambitious, with a ftill greater thirft of power: and to ingratiate himfelf with the lower fort of the people by acting like a juft and upright Magiftrate, he ordered a procefs to be commenced againft thofe that had been entrufted with the management of the late war againft the Lucchefe: in confequence of which, Giovanni de Medici, Naddo Rucellai, and Guglielmo Altoviti were put to death, and feveral others banifhed, and many obliged to pay large fums of money for their pardon. This fevere manner of proceeding alarmed the middle fort of Citizens, though it was very grateful to the Nobility and common people, as the latter generally take pleafure in executions, and the former were not a little rejoiced at the fall of thofe by whom they had been fo grievoufly oppreffed. So that whenever the Duke paffed through the ftreets, they refounded with acclamations and praifes of his juftice and refolution, whilft every one exhorted him to perfevere in his endeavours

deavours to detect the guilty and bring them to condign punishment.

Upon this change, the authority of the Twenty began to decline, and the awe and reputation of the Duke to increase so fast, that every Citizen, to shew himself well affected to him, had the Neapolitan arms painted over his door; nor was any thing wanting but the mere title, to make him a Prince. And being now strong enough, as he imagined, to attempt any thing with security, he gave the Signiory to understand, "That he thought it necessary for the good of the city, that the supreme power should be vested in him; and therefore, as it was a thing agreeable to all the rest of the Citizens, he required them to resign their authority."

The Signiory, notwithstanding they had long foreseen the ruin of their city, were not a little embarrassed at this demand; and though they were sensible of the danger they were in, yet that they might not seem wanting in any act of duty to their country, they boldly refused to comply with it. Upon which, the Duke, (who out of an affectation of Religion and Humility, had taken up his quarters at the monastery of Santa Croce) in order to give the finishing stroke to his wicked designs, immediately issued out a Proclamation, wherein he commanded all the people to appear before him the next morning in the piazza belonging to that Convent. At this proclamation, the Signiory were still more alarmed than they had been at his first message; and having called together such of the Citizens as they thought most zealous for the liberty of their country, it was resolved, since the power of the Duke was so great, and there was no other remedy left, to apply to him in an humble and supplicatory manner; and try whether they could prevail upon him by entreaties, now force was insufficient, to desist from this attempt or if that could not be effected, at least to govern them with more gentleness and moderation. For this purpose, they deputed some of their Members to wai

wait upon him; one of whom addreſſed him in the following manner:

"My Lord,

"We are come hither to expreſs our ſurpriſe, in the firſt place, at your Demand, and in the next, at your Proclamation to aſſemble the people; preſuming it is your intention to extort that from us by violence, which, upon private application, we could not in duty comply with. It is not our deſign to oppoſe force by force, but rather to repreſent to you the heavineſs of that burden which you are ſo deſirous to take upon your own ſhoulders, and the dangers that are likely to attend it; that ſo you may hereafter remember and diſtinguiſh betwixt our advice and that which is given you by others, not out of any regard to your perſon or intereſt, but to ſatiate their own revenge and ambition. You are endeavouring to enſlave our city, which has ever been free; for the government of it, which formerly has ſometimes been conferred on the Kings of Naples, or ſome other of their Houſe, was rather in conſequence of an alliance or aſſociation, than of a forced ſubjection. Have you conſidered how dear and important the love of Liberty muſt be to ſuch a Commonwealth as ours? A principle that no force can ever ſubdue, no length of time can ever wear away, nor any other conſideration over-balance. Recollect, Sir, I beſeech you, how great a force will be neceſſary to keep ſo powerful a city in ſubjection. All the foreign Mercenaries you can hire will not be ſufficient, and the Citizens you cannot confide in: for thoſe who at preſent ſeem to be your friends, and at whoſe inſtigation you have taken this reſolution, will be the firſt to conſpire your ruin, in order to uſurp the government themſelves, when they have wreaked their malice upon their fellow-citizens, by your means and aſſiſtance. The populace, which you chiefly truſt to, will turn againſt you upon any little diſguſt; ſo that in a ſhort time, you may expect to ſee the whole city

in arms, which will infallibly prove the deſtruction both of you and itſelf: for thoſe Princes only can be ſecure in their government, who have but few enemies, and ſuch as are eaſy to be taken off either by baniſhment or death: but againſt a univerſal diſaffection, there can be no ſecurity, as it will be impoſſible to gueſs with any certainty, from what hand the ſtroke may come; and whoſoever he is, that has reaſon to fear every man, cannot be ſafe againſt any one. For if he cuts off ſome, he is ſure to expoſe himſelf to ſtill greater dangers, by enflaming the hatred of thoſe that are left, and making them more implacable and ripe for revenge. That time is not able to eradicate the love of Liberty, is ſufficiently evident; ſince it has often happened in States where the citizens themſelves were not free, that many have exerted their moſt ſtrenuous endeavours to be ſo, merely upon the report of the bleſſings of Liberty, which they have received from their fathers; and when they ſucceeded, and taſted the ſweets of freedom, have deſpiſed all difficulties and dangers to maintain it. And indeed, if they had never heard of any ſuch thing from their anceſtors, the daily ſight of the public palaces, the courts of juſtice, the colours of their militia, and other monuments of former Liberty, would naturally have inſpired them with a love of it. What exploits or degree of merit, therefore, on your ſide, though ever ſo conſiderable and endearing, can poſſibly be a ſufficient recompence for the loſs of our Liberty, or what do you think can ever make us forget the happineſs we once enjoyed? If you was to add all Tuſcany to this State, and return to the city daily crowned with freſh victories over our enemies, the Honour would be yours and not ours, and the citizens would gain fellow-ſlaves rather than ſubjects, which would only ſerve to aggravate their miſery. And though you ſhould be religious, or affable, or juſt, or bountiful to the laſt degree, believe me, all would not be ſufficient to gain the affections of the peo-

people; if you think otherwiſe, you only deceive yourſelf; for to men that have once lived free, the lighteſt chain will ſeem heavy, and the leaſt reſtraint intolerable. In a State, which has been reduced to ſubjection by force, it is not poſſible that the citizens ſhould live contentedly, even under a good prince; and it muſt neceſſarily happen, if he does not conform himſelf to their deſires, that either one party or the other will ſoon be ruined. We leave you to judge, therefore, whether it will be better for you to endeavour to uſurp an abſolute dominion over this city, and to hold it by downright force of arms, (for which the poſſeſſion of all the forts and guards within, and all the friends that could be raiſed abroad, have often been found inſufficient) or to be content with the authority and power we have already given you. We would recommend the latter of theſe two meaſures to you, becauſe that Dominion only can be of long continuance, which is voluntarily conferred; and adviſe you not to ſuffer yourſelf to be blindly led by ambition, to the brink of a precipice, where you can neither retreat nor advance, and from whence you will inevitably be thrown down and overwhelmed in the ruins of the Commonwealth."

Theſe expoſtulations made but little impreſſion upon the Duke, who ſaid, "That it was ſo far from being his deſign to take away their liberty, that he came thither on purpoſe to reſtore it: that Citizens divided amongſt themſelves were no better than ſlaves, whilſt thoſe that were united might properly be called free: that if he could extinguiſh private ambition and inteſtine diſcord in Florence, by his manner of governing, ſurely he might be ſaid to reeſtabliſh their freedom, and not to deprive them of it: that he did not aſſume the government out of any ambition of his own, but accepted it at the entreaties of many of their fellow-citizens, and therefore they would do well to concur with them in the choice they had made of him. That as to the dangers he was likely to expoſe himſelf to in this undertaking, he did

not

not regard them; as it would be mean and pusillanimous to decline an opportunity of doing good, for fear of any evil that might ensue; and that none but cowards would lay aside a glorious enterprise, merely upon the uncertainty of success. That he hoped to behave himself in such a manner, as would soon oblige them to acknowledge they had feared him too much, and trusted him too little." The Signiory finding by this answer, that no good was to be done, were forced to consent, that the people should assemble the next morning in the Piazza before their palace, and the government be transferred, by their authority, to the Duke, for the space of one year, upon the same conditions that it had been formerly committed into the hands of the Duke of Calabria.

1342 On the eighth of September, 1342, the Duke, attended by Giovanni della Tosa, with all his friends, and many other citizens, came into the Piazza: and taking the Signiory with him, mounted the * Ringhiera, or landing-place, at the top of the steps before the Palace Gate, where he caused the Agreement betwixt him and the Signiory to be publickly read; and when the person who read it came to that Article, where the government was said to be given him for a year, the people shouted out, *for life, for life.* Upon which, Francisco Rustichegli, one of the Signiory, rose up to have spoken, and endeavoured to compose the tumult; but he was interrupted, and could not be heard. So that the Duke was made their Sovereign Lord by the consent of the people, not for a year only, but for ever; and afterwards carried about the Piazzá in a chair, amidst the acclamations of the multitude. It is a custom amongst the Florentines, that whoever is appointed captain of the Palace Guard, is to shut himself close up in it, in the absence

* As it was usual to address the people upon publick occasions from this and other such eminences, the word *Ringhiera* came at last to signify a Rostrum, Pulpit, or reading Desk. From hence, I suppose, comes the Italian Verb *aringare,* the French *haranguer,* and the English *to harangue.*

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of the Signiory. This charge happened at that time to be in the hands of Rinieri Giotto, who being corrupted by the Duke's friends, admitted him into the palace without making any resistance, to the great offence and dishonour of the Signiory, who returned to their own houses, and left it to be plundered by the Duke's servants, after they had torn the Standard of the City to pieces, and planted their master's there in its stead: at which, all the good Citizens were infinitely grieved and mortified, whilst those that either out of malice or stupidity had consented to this election, did not a little rejoice.

The Duke was no sooner in possession of the Government, but in order to take away the authority of those who had been the most zealous advocates for their liberties, he forbad the Signiory to assemble any more at the Palace, and assigned them a private house to meet in. He took away the colours from the Gonfaloniers of the several Companies; he repealed the old Laws against the Nobility, he discharged all Prisoners, recalled the Bardi and Frescobaldi from banishment, prohibited the wearing of swords or other arms, and to secure himself against his enemies within the City, he made as many friends as he could in the adjacent territories: for which purpose, he shewed great favour to the people of Arezzo, and all others that were in any wise dependent upon the city of Florence. He concluded a peace with the Pisans, though he had been vested with absolute power on purpose to carry on the war against them with greater vigour. He took away the securities and assignments from the Merchants, who had lent money to the State, in the war with the Lucchese, and not only increased the former taxes, but exacted new ones from the people. He entirely dissolved the authority of the Signiory, and set up three new Rettori or Judges, Baglione da Perugia, Guglielmo da Scesi, and Cerettieri Visdomini, who were his council upon all occasions. The imposts he laid upon the Citizens were very grievous, his judicial proceedings partial and unjust, and that humi-

humility and ſhew of Religion which he had put on at firſt, were now ſucceeded by ſuch an intolerable degree of haughtineſs and cruelty, that many of the Nobility, and moſt conſiderable Commoners, were condemned and put to death, after they had been tortured in a new and unheard-of manner. His tyranny was no leſs inſupportable in the Country than in the City: for after a while, he appointed ſix more Judges, to plunder and oppreſs the other towns. He was jealous of the Nobility, though he lay under great obligations to ſome of them, and had recalled others from exile; as he thought they were too generous and high-ſpirited to bear with his inſolent manner of governing. Upon which account, he began to pay his court to the people, by whoſe favour, and the aſſiſtance of foreign forces, he hoped he ſhould be able to ſupport himſelf in his tyrannical uſurpation.

In the month of May, at which time the Florentines uſually celebrate many Holidays, he cauſed the inferior ſort of people to be divided into ſeveral Companies, to which he gave pay, and honoured them with colours and ſplendid titles: upon which, there was nothing but feaſting and rejoicings to be ſeen in every part of the city, one half of the inhabitants being employed in viſiting, and the other in receiving and entertaining them. And when the news of his great power and authority began to be ſpread abroad many of the French nation reſorted to his court, to whom he gave preferments, and ſhewed more favour than to any others, as perſons whom he thought he might thoroughly confide in: ſo that Florence in a ſhort time became ſubject not only to French men but to the French cuſtoms and dreſs, every one of both ſexes endeavouring to imitate their faſhions without any regard to modeſty, or even common decency. But what ſeemed more intolerable was, the violence that was offered by him and his followers, to all ſorts of women, from the loweſt to the higheſt. The citizens therefore were provoked beyond all patience, to ſee the majeſty of their government thus

trample

trampled upon, their ordinances abolished, their Laws annulled, all honest conversation corrupted, and modesty every where despised and insulted: for those who had not been accustomed to regal pomp, could not, without infinite concern, behold the Duke parading the City, surrounded by guards, both on foot and on horseback. But as there was no remedy, they were forced to court and honour him in appearance, whilst they mortally hated him in their hearts: and they were not a little terrified at the frequent executions, and continual impositions, with which he weakened and impoverished the City. Nor was the Duke himself ignorant of the general odium he had incurred, or without fears of his own, upon that account; tho' he affected to appear, as if he thought himself extremely beloved.

It happened, that Matteo de Morozzi, either to gain the Duke's favour, or to exculpate himself, discovered a certain plot against him, in which the family of the Medici, and some others, were concerned: but the Duke was so far from making an enquiry into it, that he ordered the Informer to be put to death *: by which manner of proceeding, he deterred every one from giving him any sort of information that was necessary for his safety, and gave great encouragement to such as conspired his destruction.

* This was acting in a manner very different from most Tyrants, and indeed from many wise States and Princes, who have always thought it necessary to encourage Informers, at least to a certain degree, upon this maxim, that if men are falsely accused, they will be acquitted when they are brought to a fair trial; and those who are guilty, cannot be punished if they are not first accused. Tully, in his oration *pro Sextio Roscio*, says, that though the Dogs that were kept in the Capitol could not distinguish thieves from honest men, yet their barking at every body that came thither in the night, was of use, as it served to alarm the people, and put them upon their guard. Thus it is the interest of the State to encourage accusers, in order to deter those who might otherwise disturb the public tranquillity. Antoninus Pius, however, would neither listen to Informers, nor suffer such to be punished as had been actually concerned in conspiracies against him: and when the Senate was very urgent with him, to make an enquiry into their proceedings, he answered, "he did not chuse to have it known, that there was any body who did not love him." Victor. in Vit. Anton. Pii.

He likewiſe cauſed the tongue of Bettoni Cini to be cut out, with ſuch circumſtances of cruelty, that he died of it; and for no other reaſon, but becauſe he had complained of the heavy taxes that he had laid upon the city: an act of barbarity which exceedingly increaſed the rage and diſdain of the Citizens, who having been uſed both to ſay and to do every thing with the greateſt freedom, could not bear to have their hands tied up, and their mouths ſtopped in this manner.

Theſe outrages were ſufficient to rouſe not only the Florentines, (who neither know how to value their liberty nor endure ſlavery) but even the moſt abject nation upon earth, to attempt the recovery of their freedom. Many of the Citizens therefore, of all ranks, were determined either to ſhake off the yoke, or to die glorioufly in the cauſe of Liberty: ſo that there were three Conſpiracies on foot againſt him, at the ſame time, amongſt three different ſorts of people, the Nobility, the Commons, and the Artificers and Tradeſmen. For beſides the motives ariſing from a general oppreſſion, each party had its particular reaſons. The Commons had been deprived of the government, the Nobility were not reſtored to it, and the Tradeſmen had loſt all their buſineſs. Agnolo Acciaivoli, who was then Archbiſhop of Florence, at firſt had highly extolled the actions and good qualities of the Duke in ſome of his Sermons to the people, and wonderfully conciliated their affections to him: but when he ſaw him in full poſſeſſion of the Government, and exerciſing his power in that arbitrary and deſpotic manner, he began to think he had abuſed his fellow Citizens; and to make them ſome amends, reſolved to put himſelf at the head of the firſt and moſt powerful conſpiracy, in which he engaged with the Bardi, Roſſi, Freſcobaldi, Scali, Altoviti, Magalotti, Strozzi, and Mancini. The principal conductors of the ſecond conſpiracy were Manno and Corſo Donati, and under them the Pazzi, Cavicciulli, Cerchi and Albizi. Of the third, Antonio Adi-

Adimari was the Head, and joined by the families of the Medici, Bordini, Rucellai, and Aldobrandini. Their design was to have killed him in the house of the Albizi, whither it was imagined he would come on Midsummer-day to see the Horse-races; but, as it happened, he did not go thither on that day, and their design was disappointed. The next proposal was, to assassinate him in the street: but that was thought too difficult, because he always went well armed and attended: and as he seldom took the same round twice together, they could not certainly tell where it would be most proper to lie in wait for him. Some were of opinion it would be the best way to dispatch him in the Council: but then it was considered that even after he was dead, they must of necessity be left to the discretion of his Guards.

Whilst these things were in debate amongst the conspirators, Antonio Adimari communicated the affair to some of his friends at Siena in hopes of their assistance, told them the names of the principal persons that were engaged in it, and assured them the whole city was disposed to shake off their yoke: upon which, one of the Sienese imparted the matter to Francisco Brunelleschi, not with any design to have betrayed the conspiracy, but because he took it for granted that he was privy to it; and Francisco, either out of fear or malice to some that were concerned, discovered the whole to the Duke, who immediately ordered Paolo da Mazzecca and Simone da Montezappoli to be apprehended. These two being examined made a full confession, and acquainted the Duke with the number and quality of the conspirators, at which he was not a little frighted: however, after he had consulted his friends, he thought fit rather to summon the rest to appear before him, than to lay violent hands upon them; because if they fled, the danger would be over without any further disturbance. In consequence of this resolution, he in the first place sent for Adimari, who relying upon the number and support of his accomplices, boldly made

his appearance and was ſent to priſon. After this ſtep, he was adviſed by Franciſco Brunelleſchi and Uguccione Buondelmonte to go to the houſes of the others with his guards, and to ſeize upon them there and put them to death: but conſidering how many enemies he had in the town, he thought he had not ſtrength ſufficient to do that, and therefore took another reſolution, which if it had ſucceeded, would have freed him from the moſt powerful of his enemies, and made him ſtrong enough to over-awe the reſt.

It had been his cuſtom to call the Citizens together and deſire their opinions and advice upon any emergency; and now having aſſembled as many forces as he could, he drew out a liſt of three hundred Citizens and gave it to his ſerjeants to ſummon every one of them, on a pretence that he wanted to conſult with them; deſigning when they were met, either to kill or impriſon them all. But the confinement of Adimari, and the gathering together ſuch a number of armed men, which could not be done without ſome buſtle, made many of them, eſpecially the Conſpirators, ſo ſuſpicious, that the moſt reſolute amongſt them poſitively refuſed to obey the ſummons. After the liſt had been read by them all, they had a meeting, in which they encouraged each other to take up arms and die like men with their ſwords in their hands, rather than ſuffer themſelves to be driven like ſheep to the ſlaughter: ſo that in leſs than an hour all thoſe that were concerned in the different Conſpiracies, having communicated their deſigns to each other, reſolved to raiſe a tumult the next day (which was the 26th of July 1343) in the old Market-place, upon which they were all to take arms and excite the people to riſe and attempt the recovery of their liberty. The next day therefore, when the Bell rung for Nones *, they all roſe, as had been agreed on, and

* The original is, *al ſuono di nona*. The Italians begin their account of hours from ſun ſet, and end it at ſun ſet again, which in-

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at the cry of *Liberty, Liberty*, the people likewiſe ran to arms in their ſeveral Quarters, under the Colours of the City, which had been ſecretly delivered to them before hand by the Conſpirators for that purpoſe. All the heads of families, both of the Nobility and Commonalty, met together and took an Oath to ſtand by each other in their own defence and the deſtruction of the Duke, except ſome of the Buondelmonti and Cavalcanti, and thoſe four families of the Commoners that had been the chief inſtruments in conferring the ſovereignty upon him, who ran armed to the Piazza of the Palace with a parcel of Butchers and others of the dregs of the people at their heels to defend the Duke.

In the mean time the Duke, not a little alarmed at theſe proceedings, was very buſy in fortifying the Palace; and thoſe of his Guards that lodged in other parts of the city, mounted their horſes and rode towards the Piazza; but in their way thither they were attacked ſeveral times and many of them killed. However, as about three hundred Horſe had aſſembled there to ſupport him, he was in doubt whether he ſhould ſally out and face his enemies, or defend himſelf in the Palace. On the other hand, the Medici, Cavicciulli, Rucellai, and other families who had ſuffered moſt by him, were apprehenſive that if he ſhould make a ſally, many who had taken arms againſt him would declare themſelves his friends: and therefore being reſolved to prevent him from ſallying out and gaining more ſtrength, they drew up and attacked his forces that were aſſembled in the Piazza. Upon this, the families which appeared at firſt in the Duke's defence, ſeeing themſelves ſo vi-

cludes a ſpace of twenty four hours. And as the ſun ſets with them about nine o'clock at that ſeaſon of the Year, their ninth hour muſt be about ſix the next morning, as we reckon time.—*Il ſuono di nona*, is alſo often uſed by Italian writers, for ringing the bell for Nones about mid day, which is one of their ſtated hours of prayer. The latter ſeems to be meant here, as the tumult was to be begun in the Market-place, which at that time of the day might be ſuppoſed to be fulleſt of people.

gorouſly aſſaulted, immediately changed their ſide, and deſerting him in his diſtreſs, all joined their fellow-citizens, except Uguccione Buondelmonte, who withdrew into the Palace, and Gianozzo Cavalcanti who retreated with ſome of his party into the New Market, where he got upon a table and made an harangue to the people, in which he earneſtly exhorted thoſe whom he found in arms there to haſten to the Duke's aſſiſtance. And to intimidate them, he magnified his ſtrength, and told them, that every man of them would be put to death if they perſiſted in their rebellion againſt their Prince. But as nobody either ſeemed to regard him or thought it worth their while to chaſtiſe him for his inſolence, after he had taken much pains to no purpoſe, he reſolved not to hazard his perſon any longer, and ſneaked away to his own houſe. The diſpute was very ſharp in the mean time betwixt the people and the Duke's party in the Piazza, and though the latter were reinforced from the Palace, they were worſted, part of them ſurrendering to the enemy, others quitting their horſes and eſcaping on foot into the Palace. Whilſt they were thus engaged in the Piazza, Corſo and Amerigo Donati with ſome others of the people broke open the Priſons, burnt the records of the Judges Courts and publick Chamber, plundered the houſes of the Magiſtrates and killed all the Duke's creatures they could meet with. The Duke on the other hand, ſeeing the Piazza was loſt, that the whole city was become his enemy, and no hopes of relief left, reſolved to try if he could regain the affections of the people by ſome acts of grace and indulgence. For which purpoſe he knighted Antonio Adimari in the firſt place, though much againſt his own inclination, and with very little ſatiſfaction to the other: he then ſent for all the reſt whom he had impriſoned, and ſet them at liberty with promiſes of his future friendſhip and favour: he likewiſe cauſed his own ſtandard to be taken down, and that of the people to be ſet up again at the Palace: all which things being done in a very ungracious man-

manner, and out of mere neceſſity, had but little effect. So that he ſtill continued blocked up in the Palace to his great mortification, when he ſaw that by graſping at too much power he was likely to loſe all, and either to be famiſhed or maſſacred in a few days.

After this ſucceſs, the Citizens aſſembled in St. Reparata's in order to reform the Government, and appointed fourteen perſons, one half of them of the Nobility and the other of the Commoners, who in conjunction with the Archbiſhop ſhould have full power to new-model the State as they pleaſed. They alſo committed the authority of the Podeſta to ſix Magiſtrates, who were to adminiſter juſtice till the arrival of the perſon whom they ſhould make choice of to fill that Office. There were many people in Florence at that time, who had come thither to the aſſiſtance of the Citizens; and amongſt the reſt, ſix Deputies from Siena, men of great eſteem in their own Country, who endeavoured to bring about ſome accommodation betwixt the people and the Duke. But the people abſolutely refuſed to liſten to any overtures of that kind, except Guglielmo da Sceſi, together with his ſon and Cerettieri Viſdomini, were delivered up to them, which the Duke would not conſent to by any means, till the threats of thoſe that were blocked up with him in the Palace obliged him to comply. Greater certainly and more cruel is the reſentment of the People when they have recovered their liberty, than when they are acting in defence of it. Guglielmo and his Son were brought out and given up to thouſands of their enemies; and though the Son was not quite eighteen years of age, yet neither his youth, nor innocence, nor the gracefulneſs of his perſon were ſufficient to protect him from the rage of the multitude. Many who could not get near enough to reach them whilſt they were alive, thruſt their ſwords into them after they were dead; and not content with this, they tore their carcaſſes to pieces with their nails and teeth: that ſo all their ſenſes might be glutted with revenge; and after they had feaſted

their ears with their groans, their eyes with their wounds, and their touch with tearing the flesh off their bones; as if all this was not enough, the taste likewise might have its share and be gratified. This savage Barbarity, how fatal soever to those two, was the preservation of Cerettieri; for the people having spent their fury upon these unfortunate men, entirely forgot him, and he was privately conveyed in the night by some of his friends and relations out of the Palace into a place of security.

When the people were thus satiated with blood, the Duke and his friends were suffered to withdraw with their effects unmolested out of Florence, on condition that he would renounce all claim and pretensions to any authority over the city, and ratify his renunciation when he got to Casentino, a place out of the Florentine Dominions; in pursuance of which agreement, he left Florence on the sixth of August, escorted by many of the Citizens, and upon his arrival at Casentino, confirmed his renunciation, though with much reluctance; and indeed it is very likely he would not have done it at all, if Conte Simone had not threatened to carry him back again to Florence *. This Prince, as his actions have fully shewn, was of a sanguinary and avaricious disposition, difficult of access, and haughty in his answers. As he did not regard the affections of the people, whom he hoped to enslave, he rather chose to be feared than loved. Nor was his person less disagreeable than his behaviour was odious. For he was very low of stature,

* Livy relates, l. xxiv. c. 22. that Dionysius the tyrant used to say, "That rather than return to a private condition on horseback, he would be dragged to it by the feet." It is no wonder, indeed, that tyrants resign their power with reluctance; for when they have done so, how can they refund the sums of which they have plundered their country? How can they indemnify those whom they have imprisoned? How can they restore life to the persons they have put to death? Who will defend them against the general resentment of the people? Periander said, "it was dangerous for a tyrant to abdicate even of his own accord." Yet Sylla did it, and died a natural death, after he had shed the blood of 100,000 private men, 90 Senators, 15 of consular dignity, and above 2000 Gentlemen.

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of a ſwarthy complection, with a long thin beard: ſo that he was every way deſpicable and worthy of general contempt: and the enormities of his adminiſtration in the courſe of about ten months, deprived him of that Dominion which he had acquired by the contrivance and co-operation of bad Citizens.

This revolution in the city encouraged all the reſt of the towns under the juriſdiction of the Florentines to take up arms for their liberties; ſo that in a ſhort time, Arezzo, Caſtiglione, Piſtoia, Volterra, Colle and St. Gimignano revolted; and the whole territory of Florence, after the example of its Metropolis, ſhook off its yoke and became entirely free: in this manner, the Florentines, by the ſteps they took to recover their own liberty, at the ſame time taught their Vaſſals to do the like.

After the Duke was thus depoſed, the Council of fourteen and the Archbiſhop conſulting together, thought it would be better to attach their former ſubjects to them by pacific meaſures, than to widen the breach by hoſtilities; and pretending to be no leſs pleaſed with their liberty than their own, they ſent Deputies to Arezzo to renounce the Sovereignty which they before had over it, and to enter into an alliance with the Citizens: that ſo, though they could not for the future command them as ſubjects, they might upon occaſion make uſe of their aſſiſtance as friends. This prudent reſolution had a very good effect; for all the reſt of the towns, except Arezzo, returned to their former obedience in a few months, and Arezzo itſelf followed their example not many years after. Thus experience ſhews that ſome ends are obtained with leſs danger and expence by coolneſs and indifference, than by purſuing them with paſſion and impetuoſity.

When affairs abroad were compoſed in this manner, they began to ſettle the form of their government at home; and after ſome diſputes betwixt the Nobility and the People, it was agreed that one third of the Signiory, and one half of the other Magiſtrates

ſtrates and other Officers of State ſhould conſiſt of the Nobility. The city, as we have ſaid before, was divided into ſix parts, each of which choſe one of the Signiory; and though it ſometimes happened that their number was increaſed to twelve or thirteen, yet they were afterwards reduced again to ſix. But as theſe ſix parts were not duly proportioned, and they deſigned to give more power and authority to the Nobility, it was neceſſary to make a new regulation in this point, and to increaſe the number of the Signiory. They divided the city therefore into quarters, and choſe three of the Signiory out of each. The Gonfalonier della Giuſtizia, and thoſe of the ſeveral Companies were laid aſide; and inſtead of the twelve Buonhuomini, they created eight Counſellors, four of each quality. The commonwealth being ſettled upon this bottom, might have continued quiet and happy, if the Nobility could have been content to confine themſelves within the bounds of that moderation which is requiſite in all republican governments. But their behaviour was quite contrary: for as they had always diſdained the thoughts of equality, even when they lived a private life, ſo now they were in the magiſtracy they thought to domineer over the whole city, and every day produced freſh inſtances of their pride and arrogance; which exceedingly galled the people when they ſaw they had depoſed one Tyrant, only to make room for a thouſand †.

Things being thus circumſtanced, the inſolence of one ſide, and the indignation and impatience of the other, at laſt increaſed to ſuch a height, that the Heads of the people complained to the Archbiſhop of the enormities of the Nobility and the haughtineſs with which they were treated by them; beſeeching him to uſe his endeavours to bring it about that they might be confined to a certain ſhare in the other offices, and leave the Signiory to be filled by Commoners

† It often happens, ſays an ingenious writer, that more diſorders are occaſioned by conſpiracies, which put an end to tyranny, than there would have been by ſuffering it.

only.

only. The Archbiſhop was naturally a good man, but of a fickle inconſtant diſpoſition and eaſily moved to change his ſide: So that his acquaintance at firſt prevailed upon him to appear in favour of the Duke of Athens, and afterwards, at the perſuaſion of other Citizens, he conſpired againſt him: in the late Reformation he exerted himſelf for the Nobility, and now he was induced, by the ſollicitation of the people, to turn his back upon them; and imagining he ſhould find other people as eaſy to be wrought upon as himſelf, he made no doubt of bringing the Nobility to comply with thoſe propoſals. For this purpoſe, he called together the *Fourteen*, who were yet in authority, and made uſe of the mildeſt and moſt plauſible arguments to prevail upon them to give up the Signiory to the People, if they had any regard to the peace of the city, or their own ſafety and preſervation. But theſe admonitions had a very different effect upon the Nobility, from what he expected: for Ridolpho de Bardi taking him up very ſharply, upbraided him with levity and perfidy in firſt coming over to the Duke, and then deſerting him in his diſtreſs; and concluded with ſaying, "that as they had acquired the honours they enjoyed with the peril of their lives, they would maintain them in the ſame manner": after which, he and his friends abruptly withdrew, and leaving the Archbiſhop, went directly to inform all the reſt of the Nobility of what had paſſed. Thoſe of the Commoners that were of the Fourteen, likewiſe acquainted their party with theſe proceedings: and whilſt the Nobility were raiſing what force they could, for the defence of their friends that were in the Signiory, the Commons alſo, not caring to wait till they were grown too ſtrong, inſtantly took arms and ran to the Palace, where they furiouſly called upon the Nobles to reſign all ſhare in the adminiſtration. The tumult being very great, the Signiory were deſerted: for the Nobility ſeeing all the people in arms, durſt not appear, but kept cloſe at home. Upon which, the Commoners that were

were of the Signiory, endeavoured to pacify the Multitude, by protesting, that their Associates were good and worthy men: but not succeeding in that attempt, in order to protect them from further danger, they sent them to their own houses, whither they got with much difficulty. After the Nobles in the Signiory were thus deprived of their authority, the four Counsellors of their order were also turned out of their offices, and the remaining number increased to twelve, which consisted of Commoners only: besides which, the eight that remained in the Signiory, not only made a new Gonfalonier di Giustizia and sixteen other Gonfaloniers over the Companies of the people, but modelled all the Councils in such a manner, that the government was now entirely in the hands of the people.

During these transactions, there happened a great dearth in Florence: so that there were very grievous discontents both amongst the Nobility and common people; the former repining at the loss of their authority, and the latter murmuring for want of bread. These clamours encouraged Andrea Strozzi to make an attempt upon the liberties of the city. For as he sold his corn at a cheaper rate than others, it drew such numbers to his House, that he boldly mounted his horse one morning, and putting himself at the head of them, called upon all the rest of the people to take up arms: by which means he had got together above four thousand men in less than an hour, and conducting them to the palace of the Signiory, demanded the doors of it to be thrown open to him. But the Signiory, partly by threats, and partly by force of arms, happily disengaged themselves from them; and afterwards so terrified them by issuing out one Proclamation after another, that the multitude dissolved by little and little, and every man returned to his own house, leaving Andrea alone to shift for himself as well as he could; so that it was with no little difficulty that he escaped the hands of the magistrates. The attempt was bold indeed, and though it

it did not ſucceed, (as ſuch raſh enterprizes ſeldom do) yet it gave the Nobility freſh hopes of recovering their power, now they ſaw the inferior ſort of people ſo incenſed againſt the Commons. Not to neglect ſo fair an opportunity therefore, they reſolved to take arms, and make uſe of all manner of allies to regain that by force, which they conceived had been taken from them with ſo much injuſtice. And to inſure ſucceſs, they provided themſelves with arms, fortified their houſes, and ſent to their friends in Lombardy for ſupplies.

The Commons and the Signiory on the other hand were no leſs buſy in arming themſelves, and ſent to the Sieneſe and Perugians to deſire their aſſiſtance: ſo that when the auxiliaries on each ſide arrived, the whole city was ſoon in arms. The Nobility drew up in three diviſions, on this ſide the Arno, at the houſes of the Cavicciulli near St. John's, at thoſe of the Pazzi and Donati near St. Pietro Maggiore, and at thoſe of the Cavalcanti in the New Market: whilſt ſuch of them as lived on the other ſide of the River, fortified the Bridges and Streets that were near their houſes. The Nerli took poſſeſſion of the Ponte alla Carraia; the Freſcobaldi and Mannelli, of that of St. Trinita; the Roſſi and the Bardi, of the old Bridge and the Rubaconte. The Commons in the mean time, having aſſembled under the Gonfalone, or Standard della Giuſtizia, and the colours of their reſpective companies, reſolved to attack the enemy without further delay. Accordingly the Medici and Rondinelli immediately fell upon the Cavicciulli in the avenue that led from St. John's Piazza to the place where their houſes ſtood. The action continued very hot and bloody for the ſpace of three hours, during which, they had great ſtones tumbled down upon their heads from the tops of the houſes, and were terribly galled with croſs bows below: but as the number of the enemy continually increaſed, the Cavicciulli ſeeing themſelves over-powered at laſt, and deſtitute of all relief, were forced to ſurrender

to

to the people, who ſpared their houſes and effects, and were content with taking away their arms only, and diſtributing them, diſarmed as they were, amongſt the houſes of the Commoners that were their friends or relations. When the Cavicciulli were thus defeated, the Pazzi and Donati, who had not ſo much ſtrength, were ſoon reduced; ſo that the Cavalcanti only remained entire on this ſide of the River, who were more conſiderable both in reſpect of their numbers and the ſtrength of their ſituation. But as they ſaw all the companies now advancing againſt them, and their aſſociates had been worſted by three of them only, they ſubmitted without making much reſiſtance. Three parts of the city out of four were now in the hands of the people; but that which ſtill continued in the poſſeſſion of the Nobility, was more inacceſſible and difficult to be ſtormed than any of the reſt, not only on account of the numbers that defended it, but becauſe it was ſo ſecured by the River, that it was neceſſary to be maſters of the Bridge in the firſt place, which, as we have already ſaid were very well fortified. A vigorous attack, however, was made upon the old Bridge, which was nevertheleſs reſolutely ſuſtained; and as the turrets were garriſoned, the avenues blocked up, and the barricadoes guarded by the ſtouteſt of their men, the people were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. When they found therefore that all further attempts would be in vain at that paſs, they reſolved, if it was poſſible to force their way over the Ponte Rubaconte: but meeting with the ſame obſtructions there, they left four companies to watch the motions of the enemy at thoſe two Bridges, and marched with the reſt to the Ponte alla Carraia. The Nerli had the defence of that paſs, and though they behaved with great valour, yet they could not poſſibly maintain it; not only becauſe there were no turrets there, but becauſe the Capponi and other neighbouring families of the Commoners attack'd them at the ſame time in the rear; ſo that, being over-powered by numbers

they were forced to abandon their barricadoes, and give way to the fury of the aſſailants, who, having been joined by all the families of the Commoners on the other ſide of the River, then proceeded to attack the Roſſi and Freſcobaldi, and ſoon drove them from their poſts. The only party that remained unconquered were the Bardi, who defended themſelves in ſo courageous and obſtinate a manner, that neither the defeat of their aſſociates, nor the whole force of the people combined againſt them alone, nor the impoſſibility of any relief, could diſmay them: and they rather choſe to ſee their houſes plundered and burnt down to the ground before their faces, and to die bravely with their arms in their hands, than tamely ſubmit to the mercy of their enemy. With this reſolution, they ſtood by each other ſo firmly, that though they were ſeveral times attacked both at the old Bridge and the Rubaconte, they as often repulſed the people at each place with great ſlaughter. There was an old obſcure lane that led from the Via Romana, by the houſes of the Pitti, to the wall upon St. George's Hill; through this lane, the people ſent ſix companies, with orders to attack the back parts of the houſes where the Bardi had fortified themſelves: at which they were ſo diſheartened, that the people, in a very ſhort time, got the better of them. For as ſoon as they heard their houſes were aſſaulted in that manner, thoſe that guarded the Barricadoes at the Bridges, immediately quitted their Poſts and ran to defend them: ſo that they were preſently forced, and the Bardi being utterly routed and diſperſed, took ſhelter in the houſes of the Quarateſi, Panzaneſi, and Mozzi. Upon which, the people, eſpecially the inferior ſort of them, naturally rapacious and greedy of ſpoil, began to plunder their houſes, which they afterwards burnt down to the ground, and committed ſuch other outrages as the bitereſt enemy to the city of Florence would have been aſhamed of.

The Nobility being in this manner entirely ſubdued, the people took upon them to reform the State; and

and as there were three degrees of them, it was ordained that the highest rank should have the nomination of two of the Signiory, the middle sort of three, and the lowest of three more: and that the Gonfalonier della Giustizia should be chosen by turns out of all three. Besides which, the old Laws were revived and put in execution against the Nobility; and to reduce them still more effectually, many of them were incorporated with the other classes. By these means they were brought so low, that they became abject and pusillanimous, and never durst rise any more against the people: so that being deprived of their arms and honours, their spirit and generosity likewise seemed to be extinguished. After this depression of the Nobles, the city continued in tranquillity till the year 1353, during which interval the great Plague happened, so eloquently described by Giovanni Boccaccio *, of which above ninety-six thousand people died in Florence. The first war with the Visconti likewise happened in this period, occasioned by the ambition of the Archbishop, who at that time was Prince of Milan; which war was no sooner ended, but new factions sprung up in the City: for though the Nobility were ruined, yet Fortune found other means to raise fresh troubles and dissensions.

1353

* That author has taken great pains indeed, to describe this calamity in the most affecting manner, at the beginning of his Decamerone; and it is finely wrought up.

END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

FLORENCE.

BOOK III.

ARGUMENT.

Animosities betwixt the Nobility and People, the chief cause of disturbances in a city. The emulation betwixt the middle sort of People and the Plebeians. Several are admonished and rendered incapable of the Magistracy. The Speech of a Citizen to the Signiory. A reformation in Florence. Pope Gregory XI. *resides at Avignon, and governs Italy by Legates. Eight Citizens appointed to act as secretaries at war. A conspiracy of the Guelphs defeated. The speech of Sylvestro de Medici. The* Balia, *a temporary council, instituted. Another reformation. The speech of Luigi Guicciardini to the Magistrates and Syndics of the Arts, when he was Gonfalonier di Giustizia. New disturbances arise from the discontents of the Plebeians. The Speech of a Plebeian. The Plebeians rise in arms. Their Demands. Michael di Lando, a wool-comber, puts himself at the head of them, and seizes upon the government. His character. He quells the Plebeians. The popular and Plebeian factions. Apprehension of a conspiracy. Many executions in Florence. Remarkable story of Pietro degli Albizi. Another model of government. The Plebeians are deprived of all share*

in it. Michael di Lando is banished. Lewis of Anjou comes into Italy, with an army, to drive Carlo Durazzo out of the kingdom of Naples, and re-establish Queen Giovanna there. The Florentines are afraid of him. His death. Carlo Durazzo is made King of Hungary, and dies there soon after. Benedetto degli Alberti is banished. The speech of Veri de Medici to the Signiory. Donato Acciaiuoli banished. A conspiracy defeated. The Duke of Milan conspires with the Exiles against Florence. The Plot is discovered. Several Families proclaimed Rebels and banished. The death of Ladislaus, King of Naples.

THE bitter animosities which generally happen between the people and Nobility from an ambition in the one to command, and a reluctance in the other to obey, are the natural sources of those calamities that are incident to Commonwealths; for all other evils that usually disturb their peace are both occasioned and fomented by this contrariety of dispositions. It was this that kept Rome so long divided. This also (if we may be allowed to compare a small Republic with one that was so much more considerable) gave birth to the factions which sprung up in Florence; though indeed it produced very different effects at last in the two cities. For the disputes that first arose between the Nobility and people of Rome, were determined by reason and expostulation; but those at Florence by the sword. In Rome that was effected by the Laws, which in Florence could hardly be done by the banishment and death of numbers of their citizens. The quarrels of the Romans still added to their spirit and military virtue; whilst those of the Florentines utterly extinguished them. The former destroyed that equality which was at first established, and introduced a prodigious disparity amongst the Citizens: the latter, on the contrary, abolished all superiority or difference of rank, and put every man upon the same level. This diversity of effects must certainly have proceeded from

from a difference of views. The people of Rome desired no more than to share with the Nobility in the administration of the Commonwealth; but the people of Florence were not only desirous to have the government of the State to themselves, but used violent measures, and took up arms to exclude their Nobles from any part in it. And as the terms of the Roman people were more moderate, their demands seemed not unreasonable to the Nobility, who, therefore, complied with them; so that after some little bickerings, and without coming to an open rupture, a Law was made, by which the people were satisfied, and the Nobles continued in their honours and offices. On the other hand, the demands of the Florentine people were so extravagant and injurious, that the Nobility took up arms to support their privileges, and their quarrels grew to such a height, that numbers were either banished, or slain, before they could be ended; and the Laws afterwards made, were calculated rather for the private advantage of the victors than the good of the publick.

Hence it came to pass, that the success of the people of Rome made that State more potent and considerable: for as they were equally admitted to govern the Commonwealth, and to command their armies and provinces with the Nobility, they became inspired with the same virtue and magnanimity; and as they grew more public spirited, their power also increased. But in Florence, when the people had subdued the Nobility, they divested them of all manner of authority, and left them no possibility of recovering any part of it, except they would entirely conform to their customs and way of living, and not only submit to appear, but to be Commoners like themselves. And this was the reason that induced them to change their arms, and vary their titles, and the names of their families, which was so frequent in those times amongst the Nobility, in order to insinuate themselves into the affections of the people: so that the military spirit and greatness of soul, for

which the Nobility had been held in ſuch veneration, was utterly extinguiſhed, and not by any means to be raiſed in the people where there were no ſeeds of it; by which means Florence became every day more abject and puſillanimous. And whereas Rome at laſt grew ſo powerful and wanton by the effects of its virtue, that it could not be governed any otherwiſe than by one Prince; Florence was reduced ſo low, that a wiſe Legiſlator might eaſily have new modelled it, and given it what form he pleaſed; which muſt be obvious to any one that has read the firſt and ſecond books of this hiſtory. As I have therefore already given an account of the original of Florence, the foundation and eſtabliſhment of its liberty, the occaſion of its diſſenſions, the tyranny of the Duke of Athens, and how the factions betwixt the Nobility and the Commons ended in the utter ruin of the former, I ſhall now proceed to relate the Conteſts that happened betwixt the Commons and the Plebeians and the ſeveral events which they produced.

The power of the Nobility being ſuppreſſed, and the war with the Archbiſhop at an end, there ſeemed to be no ſeeds of future diſſenſions left in Florence But the evil deſtiny of our City, and want of good conduct, occaſioned a new emulation betwixt the families of the Albizi and the Ricci, which produced as fatal diviſions as thoſe betwixt the Buondelmonti and Uberti, and the other betwixt the Cerchi and Donati had done before. The Popes then reſided in France, and the Emperors in Germany: but upon various occaſions, and at different times, had ſent great numbers of Engliſh, French, and German forces into Italy, to keep up their intereſt and reputation there. But when the wars were over, and they were diſbanded, they all united under one common Standard, as Soldiers of Fortune, and levied contributions ſometimes upon one Prince, and ſometimes upon another. In the year 1353, a body of theſe Freebooters advancing into Tuſcany, under the command of Monſieur Real, a Provençal, threw the

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whole country into ſuch conſternation, that not only the Governors of Florence raiſed forces on the public account, but ſeveral private Citizens, eſpecially the Albizi and Ricci, fortified themſelves for their own defence. Betwixt theſe two families, there was a mortal hatred, each conſpiring the deſtruction of the other, in order to engroſs the ſole management of the Commonwealth with leſs difficulty. However, they had not as yet taken up arms, or proceeded to open violence on either ſide, but only thwarted each other in council, and the execution of their offices. In the mean time, whilſt the whole city was ready armed and ripe for miſchief, there unluckily happened a private quarrel in the Old Market Place; to which all the neighbours ran (as uſual on ſuch occaſions) and upon enquiring into the cauſe of it, ſome gave out, that the Ricci were going to attack the Albizi, and others that the Albizi were preparing to fall upon the Ricci; which different ſtories being immediately carried to both parties, occaſioned ſuch an uproar and diviſion throughout the whole city, that the Magiſtrates found it a very difficult matter to keep the two families and their friends from coming to a fray in good earneſt; though neither ſide had intended any ſuch thing as was maliciouſly reported. This diſturbance, though ſmall at firſt, and accidental, ſerved to enflame their former animoſities, and determined both ſides to be upon their guard, and ſtrengthen their parties. And ſince the Citizens were reduced to ſuch a degree of equality by the ſuppreſſion of the Nobility, that the Magiſtrates were held in greater reverence than ever they had been before, each family reſolved to avail themſelves rather of public and ordinary means, than of private violence.

We have already ſhewn that the Guelphs alone were inveſted with the Magiſtracy, and had great power given them over the Ghibeline party after the victory gained by Charles the Firſt: but this diſtinction was ſo far aboliſhed by time and various other

contingencies and new divisions, that many who were descended from the Ghibelines, had now got into authority and exercised some of the highest offices in common with the Guelphs. Uguccione de Ricci, therefore, who at that time was the head of his family, used his utmost endeavours to have the laws against the Ghibelines revived; which faction, it was supposed by many, the Albizi inclined to favour, as they originally came, though many years before, from Arezzo to settle in Florence. So that Uguccione hoped to render that family incapable of enjoying any honours in the Commonwealth by virtue of those laws; since it was enacted by them, that no person whatsoever that was of Ghibeline extraction, should presume to exercise the office of a Magistrate on pain of death. This design was discovered by Pietro, the son of Philippo Albizi, who resolved to connive at it; rightly judging, that if he made any opposition, it would be in a manner declaring himself a Ghibeline. These laws, however, though renewed to favour the interest and ambition of the Ricci, did not in the least diminish the reputation of the Albizi, but rather increased it, and were the occasion of many evils that afterwards happened; for indeed no laws can be made so prejudicial to a Common-wealth as those of retrospection, and such as look too far back into past times. Pietro therefore, having rather promoted than opposed those laws; made use of the very means to advance himself, which his enemies had contrived to ruin him: for undertaking to see them put in execution, he daily acquired fresh authority, and became the chief favourite of this new faction of the Guelphs. And as there was no certain definition of a Ghibeline laid down in those laws, nor any particular Magistrate deputed to inform against them (which rendered the laws of little effect) he got it enacted, that the Captains of the people should have power to make an inquisition into that matter, and to admonish such as were discovered to be Ghibelines, not to exercise the function

function of Magiſtrates; which admonition if they did not obey, they were to be put to death; and from hence all thoſe that were afterwards incapacitated to fill the Magiſtracy, were called *Ammoniti*, or perſons admoniſhed. But in a while the Captains grew ſo partial and inſolent, that without any regard to principle or ſufficient cauſe, they admoniſhed whomſoever they thought fit, accordingly as they were led by paſſion or private intereſt: ſo that betwixt the year 1357, in which this law took place, and the year 1371, above two hundred of the Citizens were admoniſhed.

By theſe means the Captains and the faction of the Guelphs were grown very conſiderable, eſpecially the Heads of it, Pietro degli Albizi, Lapo da Caſtiglionchio, and Carlo Strozzi, who were much courted by every one for fear of being admoniſhed. And though this injurious manner of proceeding gave great diſguſt to many, yet it was more intolerable to the Ricci than any body elſe, who had been the authors of theſe meaſures, which contrary to their intentions had ſo much increaſed the power of their enemies and were likely to prove the ruin of the Commonwealth. Uguccione therefore, being one of the Signiory, in order to mitigate the ſmart of this ſcourge which he and his partiſans had made for their own backs, cauſed a new law to be paſſed, that three more Captains ſhould be added to the former ſix, two of whom were to be choſen out of the lower ſort of Mechanicks; and that thoſe who were admoniſhed as Ghibelines, ſhould be certified to be ſo by twenty-four Citizens of the Guelph party, deputed on purpoſe to examine into the proofs of it. Theſe laws for ſome time were ſuch a check upon the arbitrary proceedings of the Captains, that their admonitions loſt much of their terror, and were in a great meaſure laid aſide. The jealouſies however betwixt the Ricci and Albizi were not yet ſubſided, and they ſtill continued to oppoſe each other in all councils, enterprizes, and other public affairs with the utmoſt degree of virulence. Theſe diſcords laſted from the

1371. year 1366 till 1371, by which time the Guelphs had fully recovered their former authority.

There was a gentleman of the family of Buondelmonti, whose name was Benchi, who for his merit in the wars against the Pisans, was thought worthy of being admitted into the rank of Commoners, and thereby became qualified to be of the Signiory. But when he expected that honour, a law was made, that no person of noble extraction, though become a Commoner, should be capable of enjoying any share in the Magistracy. At this law, Benchi was so highly provoked, that he joined with Pietro degli Albizi; and after a consultation betwixt them, they resolved to depress the lower sort of people by admonitions, and take the government into their own hands. And indeed by his interest with the ancient Nobility, and Pietro's amongst the principal Commoners, the faction of the Guelphs grew still more and more considerable: for they had so ordered matters by their new models and regulations, that the Captains and the twenty-four being wholly at their devotion, they began to avail themselves of admonitions again, with more boldness than ever they had done before; and the family of the Albizi being at the head of that faction, became exceeding powerful. The Ricci and their friends, on the other hand, spared no pains to obstruct these designs: so that every one living in great fear and apprehension of some fatal consequence, several of the Citizens, who were most zealous for the good of their Country, assembled in the Church of St. Pietro Scheraggio, and having considered the dangerous situation of affairs, they went to wait upon the Signiory at their Palace, where one of the most eminent of their body addressed himself to them in the following manner.

"Many of us have been in doubt, magnificent Signiors, whether our assembling without due authority, though upon a public occasion, might not be censured as too forward and presumptuous in private men. But when we considered that numbers of

of other Citizens have daily cabals in ſecret places, without any regard to the laws, and confer together, not for the good of the public, but how they may beſt promote their own ſelf-intereſted and ambitious deſigns, we preſumed, ſince theſe men have dared to do ſo (only to conſpire the ruin of the Commonwealth) without incurring your diſpleaſure, that we who had no other deſign than to concert meaſures for its peace and preſervation, ſhould not have any occaſion to ſtand in fear of reprehenſion. In which caſe, we ſhall not give ourſelves the leaſt trouble about the opinion of others, ſince they are ſo indifferent concerning what we think of them. The gratitude we owe to our Country at firſt induced us to aſſemble, and now to preſent ourſelves before you, magnificent Signiors, to complain of thoſe evils which (though very great indeed already) are daily increaſing upon us; and at the ſame time, to offer you any aſſiſtance to remedy them that is in our power. For how difficult ſoever the undertaking may appear, we don't deſpair of ſucceſs, provided you lay aſide all private friendſhip and connection, and ſupport your authority by that of the public. The common diſeaſe of the other cities in Italy has at laſt invaded ours, and is continually eating deeper and deeper into its vitals. For after this province had ſhaken off the yoke of the Emperors, all its towns, for want of due reſtraint, ran into extremes, and from liberty degenerated into downright licentiouſneſs, making ſuch laws and inſtituting ſuch governments as were rather calculated to foment and ſupport factions, than maintain freedom. From this ſource are derived all the defects and diſorders that we labour under. No friendſhip or union is to be found amongſt the Citizens, except betwixt ſuch as are accomplices in ſome wicked deſign either againſt their neighbours or their Country. All religion and fear of God are utterly extinguiſhed. Promiſes and oaths are no further binding than they ſerve to promote ſome private advantage, and taken, not with any deſign to obſerve them,

them, but as neceſſary means to facilitate the perpetration of villanies, which are even honoured and applauded as good conduct and policy if they meet with ſucceſs. From hence it comes to paſs, that the moſt wicked and abandoned wretches are admired as able enterprizing men; whilſt the innocent and conſcientious are laughed at and deſpiſed as fools. And certainly there is no ſort of corruption that may not be found in the cities of Italy, nor any people in the world ſo thoroughly diſpoſed to receive the infection as thoſe of Florence. The young men are indolent and effeminate; the old, laſcivious and contemptible. Without regard to age or ſex, every place is full of the moſt licentious brutality, for which, the laws themſelves, though good and wholeſome, are yet ſo partially executed that they do not afford any remedy. This is the real cauſe of that ſelfiſh ſpirit which now ſo generally prevails, and of that ambition, not for true glory, but for Places which diſhonour the poſſeſſors. Hence proceed theſe fatal animoſities, theſe ſeeds of envy, revenge and faction, with their uſual attendants, executions, baniſhments, depreſſion of good men and the exaltation of the wicked. For the good, confiding in their virtue and uprightneſs, have not recourſe to any baſe means, like wicked men, to advance, or even ſo much as defend themſelves: ſo that they generally fall miſerable victims to the cruelty and oppreſſion of tyrants, and die in poverty and diſgrace. Such dreadful and pitiable examples, both give riſe and ſtrength to parties: for the Evil will naturally form one ſide, either out of avarice or ambition; and the Good another, out of fear and neceſſity: and what is ſtill more dangerous, the authors and ringleaders of them varniſh over their pernicious deſigns with ſome ſacred title: for being in reality enemies to all liberty, they more effectually deſtroy it, by pretending to defend the rights, ſometimes of the Nobility, ſometimes of the Commons; ſince the fruit which they expect from a victory, is not the glory of having delivered their Country, but the ſa-

tisfaction

tisfaction of having conquered the oppofite party and fecured the government of the State to themfelves. And when they have once obtained that, there is no fort of cruelty, injuftice, or rapine that they are not guilty of. From thence forward, laws are enacted, not for the common good but for private ends: from that time both war and peace are made and alliances concluded, not for the honour of the public, but to gratify the humours of particular men. And if the other cities of Italy are full of thefe diforders, certainly ours overflows: our laws, our ftatutes, and civil ordinances are made to indulge the caprice, or ferve the ambition of the conqueror, not to promote the true intereft of a free people; fo that one faction is no fooner extinguifhed but another is lighted up. A city that endeavours to fupport itfelf by parties inftead of laws, can never be at peace: for when one prevails and is left without oppofition, it neceffarily divides again; the people not being able to defend themfelves by the ordinary laws which were at firft made for their prefervation. The truth of this is fufficiently confirmed both by the ancient and modern diffenfions, that have happened in our own city. When the Ghibelines were depreffed, every one thought the Guelphs would then have lived in peace and fecurity: and yet it was not long before they divided into the factions of the Neri and Bianchi. When the Bianchi were reduced, new commotions arofe, fometimes in favour of the exiles, fometimes betwixt the Nobility and the people: and to give that away to others which we either could not or would not poffefs quietly ourfelves, we firft committed our liberties into the hands of King Robert, then of his Brother, next of his Son, and laft of all to the mercy of the Duke of Athens, never fettling or repofing under any government; as people that could neither be fatisfied with being free, nor fubmit to live in flavery. Nay fo much was our State inclined to divifion, that rather than acquiefce under the government of a King, it meanly proftituted itfelf to the tyranny

tyranny of a vile and pitiful Agobbian. The Duke of Athens indeed ought not to be mentioned, for the honour of this city: the remembrance however of his insolence and oppression might have taught us to behave more wisely for the future. Yet no sooner was he expelled but we took up arms again, and fought against each other with more rancour and inveteracy than ever we had done before, till at last the ancient Nobility were entirely subdued and lay at the mercy of the people: and it was then the general opinion there would be no more factions or troubles in Florence, since those were humbled whose insupportable pride and ambition had been the chief occasion of them. But we now see by experience, how little confidence is to be put in the judgment of man: for that pride and ambition which was thought to be utterly extinguished by the fall of the Nobility, now springs up again amongst the people, who begin to be equally impatient for authority, and aspire with the same vehemence to the first offices in the Commonwealth; and having no other way to obtain their end, but by domestick dissensions, they revive the antiquated distinctions of Guelphs and Ghibelines, which it would have been happy for this city never to have known *. And that nothing may be stable and permanent, in this world, it seems the will of Heaven that certain families should spring up in all Commonwealths to be the pest and ruin of them.

* Schach Abas, who sat on the throne of Persia, from 1585 to 1629, and is called one of the greatest Princes that Kingdom ever had, (though his reign was in many respects very cruel and tyrannical) advised his successor to sow division amongst his subjects, if he hoped to live in peace; that so by putting himself sometimes at the head of one party, and sometimes of another, he might balance them as he pleased, and reign in security. Divide & impera. A horrible maxim, indeed! but he had practised it himself, and by various arts and means, rather worthy of a tyrant or an enemy, than the father of his people, raised two factions in every city of his kingdom, which continued till the last great revolution there, for which those divisions had paved the way. Histoire de la Revol. de Perse, p. 84, 85. The same fatal system of politics has been adopted in many other countries, but with little peace to the sovereign, and infinite distraction amongst the subjects.

Of

Of which, our own city can produce more inſtances perhaps than any other; ſince it owes its miſeries and diſtractions not merely to one or two, but to ſeveral of thoſe families: as firſt to the Buondelmonti and Uberti, next to the Donati and Cerchi, and now, to our ſhame be it ſpoken, to the Ricci and Albizi. We have not enumerated our many paſt diviſions, nor raked ſo deep into our corruption, in order to terrify or diſcourage you, but to point out their cauſes, and by putting you in mind of them, to ſhew that we have not forgot them ourſelves; and at the ſame time to conjure you not to let ſuch examples make you deſpair of providing any remedy for the preſent. For at that time, the power of thoſe ancient families was ſo great, and their intereſt with other Princes, ſo conſiderable, that neither the laws nor the authority of the Civil Magiſtrate were able to controul them: but at this day, when the Emperor has no power, nor the Pope any influence here, and all Italy, particularly this City, is reduced to ſuch a ſtate of equality, as to be able to govern itſelf, where is the difficulty? what impediment remains, why this Commonwealth, above all others, and in ſpight of former examples to the contrary, may not only be united, but reformed and improved by new Laws and Conſtitutions, provided your Lordſhips will be pleaſed to make them: to which good work we earneſtly exhort you, not out of any private pique or reſentment, but compaſſion to our country. We acknowledge the taſk to be very difficult, but hope you will, for the preſent at leaſt, put a ſtop to that madneſs, that virulent contagion which threatens us with utter ruin. You muſt not impute the factions of our anceſtors to the nature of the men, but to the iniquity of the times, which being now altered, afford this city fair hopes of better fortune; and our diſorders may be corrected by the inſtitution of wholeſome Laws, by a prudent reſtraint of ambition, by prohibiting ſuch cuſtoms as tend to nouriſh and propagate faction, and by ſubſtituting others

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that may conduce to maintain liberty and good civil government. And it would be much more gracious and acceptable, if you would now do that voluntarily, and under the favour of the Laws, which otherwise you will either provoke the people to do themselves, or compel you to do by violence."

The expediency of this advice had great weight with the Signiory, especially as it was very conformable to their own sentiments; and therefore, in compliance with the exhortations and authority of those that gave it, they commissioned fifty-six citizens *to provide for the safety of the Commonwealth* *. But as most people are fitter to preserve good order than to restore it when lost, these Citizens took more pains to extinguish the present factions, than to provide against new ones, which was the reason that they succeeded in neither: for they not only did not take away the occasion of fresh ones, but made one of those that were then subsisting, so much more powerful than the other, that the Commonwealth was in great danger. They deprived three of the family of the Albizi, and as many of the Ricci, of all share in the Magistracy for three years, except in such branches of it, as were particularly appropriated to the Guelph party; of which number Pietro degli Albizi, and Uguccione de' Ricci were two. They prohibited all Citizens from coming into the palace at any time when the Signiory were not sitting. They decreed, that in case of battery, or disturbance in the possession of his estate, any man should have liberty granted him, upon petitioning the Council, to accuse the aggressor, and make him answer to the charge before the heads of it, who should have the power of compelling him to submit to their sentence, if guilty. These provisions bore much harder upon the Ricci than the Albizi: for though they were equally stigmatized by them, yet the Ricci were the greater suf-

* After the manner of the old Romans, who used to give a charge to their Magistrates in times of danger, to take care, "ne quid detrimenti capiat Respublica."

ferers.

ferers. Pietro, indeed, was excluded from the palace of the Signiory, but he had free admittance into that of the Guelphs, where his authority was very great; and though he and his aſſociates were forward enough in their admonitions before, they became much forwarder after this mark of diſgrace; and new accidents occurred, which ſtill more and more enflamed their reſentment.

Gregory XI. was Pope at that time, and reſiding at Avignon, as his late Predeceſſors had done, he governed Italy by Legates, who being haughty and rapacious, had grievouſly oppreſſed ſeveral of the cities. One of theſe Legates being then at Bologna, took the advantage of a ſcarcity, which happened at that time in Florence, and reſolved to make himſelf maſter of Tuſcany. For which purpoſe, he not only refuſed to ſupply the Florentines with proviſions, but invaded their territories with a great army, very early in the ſpring, in order to ſpoil their next harveſt; hoping by that means to make an eaſy conqueſt, when they were in a manner both famiſhed and diſarmed; and, probably, his deſign would have ſucceeded, if the forces he employed had not been mercenary and corrupt: for the Florentines having no other remedy, had recourſe to bribery, and gave his army an hundred and thirty thouſand Florins to deſiſt from their enterprize.

It is in the power of any man to begin a war, but not to end one, when he pleaſes. The commencement of this was owing to the ambition of the Legate, and the proſecution of it to the reſentment of the Florentines, who immediately entered into a confederacy with Bernabo Galeazzo, and all the other ſtates that were at variance with the Church: after which, they appointed eight Citizens for the management of it, whom they inveſted with an abſolute power of proceeding, and diſburſing money without controul or account. This war againſt the Pope, notwithſtanding Uguccione was dead, gave freſh courage to thoſe that had followed the party of the Ricci, who, in oppoſition

poſition to the Albizi, had, upon all occaſions, favoured Bernabo, and appeared againſt the Church; and eſpecially becauſe all the Eight were enemies to the Guelphs. Upon which, Pietro degli Albizi, Lapo da Caſtiglionchio, Carlo Strozzi, and ſome others, united themſelves more firmly together, to make head againſt their enemies: ſo that whilſt the Eight were buſily employed in their department, and the others in admonitions, the war was carried on for three years, and did not end till the death of the Pope. It was proſecuted, however, with ſuch vigour, and general ſatisfaction, that the Eight were not only continued in their office from year to year, as long as it laſted, but got the title of Santi; notwithſtanding they had deſpiſed the cenſures of the Pope, made free with the treaſure and revenues of their Churches, and forced the Clergy to perform the duties of their function So much did the Citizens at that time prefer the gooc of their Country to all other concerns; and ſo zealou were they to convince the Church, that as they hac power to defend it whilſt they were its friends, ſo the were able to diſtreſs it now they were its enemies having actually raiſed a rebellion quite through th States of Romagna, La Marca, and Perugia. Bu whilſt they made ſo vigorous a war upon the Pop they could not defend themſelves againſt the captain and their adherents. The envy and indignation wit which the Guelphs looked upon the Eight, mad them grow ſo bold and inſolent, that they often a fronted and abuſed them, as well as the reſt of th principal Citizens. The Captains were no leſs arro gant; they were even more dreaded than the Sig niory, and men went with greater awe and reverenc to their houſes than to the palace; ſo that all the Am baſſadors that came to Florence, were inſtructed t addreſs themſelves to the Captains.

After the death of Pope Gregory, the city had n war abroad, but was in great confuſion at home: f on one hand, the Guelphs were become ſo audaciou that they were no longer ſupportable; and on t

othe

other, there was no visible way to suppress them: it was necessary therefore, to take up arms, and leave the event to Fortune. On the side of the Guelphs, were all the ancient Nobility, and the greater part of the more powerful Citizens; of whom as we have said, Lapo, Pietro, and Carlo, were the chief. On the other, were all the inferior sort of people, headed by the Eight, and joined by Georgio Scali, Tomaso Strozzi, the Ricci, the Alberti, and the Medici: the rest of the multitude, as it almost always happens in such cases, joined with the discontented party. The power of their adversaries seemed very considerable to the heads of the Guelphs, and their danger great, if at any time a Signiory that was not on their side should attempt to depress them. Thinking it prudent, therefore, to guard against such an event, they had a meeting, and having particularly inquired into the state and condition of the city, they found the number of persons who had been admonished, was so great, that they had disobliged most of the Citizens, and made them their enemies. In these circumstances, they thought there was no other remedy, now they had deprived them of their honours, but to banish them out of the City also, to seize upon the Palace of the Signiory, and to put the government of the State wholly into the hands of their own Creatures, according to the example of the Guelphs their predecessors, whose quiet and security was entirely owing to the total expulsion of their enemies. This proposal was agreed to without any opposition; but they differed about the time of putting it in execution.

It was then the month of April, in the year 1378, when Lapo judging it unsafe to defer the matter any longer, represented to them that delays were always dangerous, but more particularly in their situation, considering that Sylvestro de Medici, who was an open and declared enemy to their party, might be chosen Gonfalonier in the next Signiory. Pietro degli Albizi was of a different opinion, and thought it better to 1378

wait a little longer, as ſome forces would be neceſſary to ſupport them, which could not be got together privately; and to raiſe them publickly would be to run themſelves into manifeſt danger. His advice therefore was, that they ſhould have patience till midſummer day, which being one of their greateſt feſtivals, and at a time when vaſt numbers of people reſort to the city, they might introduce what forces they pleaſed into it without danger of being diſcovered. And to obviate their apprehenſion of Sylveſtro, he propoſed to have him admoniſhed; and if that would not anſwer the purpoſe, to manage it ſo in the enſuing imborſation for magiſtrates, ſince the purſes were now empty, that either his name or that of ſome other Candidate in his ward ſhould be drawn, which would diſqualify him for filling the Office of Gonfalonier. This opinion was approved, and they reſolved to defer their undertaking, though Lapo came very unwillingly into it; alledging, that no opportunity could ever be complete in every circumſtance, and that thoſe who waited for ſuch a one muſt either never attempt any thing of moment, or be diſappointed in it if they did. However, they proceeded to admoniſh Sylveſtro, but they did not ſucceed in their deſign of excluding him; for the Eight being aware of the trick they intended to put upon him, continued to defer the imborſation: ſo that Sylveſtro, the Son of Alamanno de Medici, was appointed Gonfalonier. As he was born of one of the moſt conſiderable families of the Commoners, he could not bear to ſee the people oppreſſed by a few grandees: reſolving therefore to put an end to their inſolence, and finding himſelf favoured by the people and ſupported by ſeveral of the principal Citizens, he communicated his deſign to Benedetto Alberti, Tomaſo Strozzi, and Georgio Scali, who all concurred with him and promiſed him their aſſiſtance in it. In conſequence of this, they ſecretly prepared a Decree by which the laws againſt the Nobility were to be revived, the authority of the Captains retrenched,

Sylvestro Medici. 1378

trenched, and those who had been admonished, admitted into the Magistracy. And as it seemed the best way both to propose and have it passed at one time, if possible, since it was first to be presented to the Colleges, and afterwards considered in the Councils, Sylvestro being president (and consequently in a manner Prince of the city for a time) caused both a College and a Council to be called the same morning; and coming first to the College, in which he had but few friends, he proposed the Decree to them which he had prepared: but it was thrown out as an innovation, and he could not get it passed. Seeing himself defeated therefore in the first step to obtain it, he pretended to go out upon some necessary occasion, and went away to the Council without being perceived; where, having placed himself in such a manner that he might both be seen and heard by the whole assembly, he told them, "That he thought he had been appointed Gonfalonier, not to take cognizance of private causes, which had their proper judges, but to superintend the State, to correct the insolence of the great, and to moderate or alter those laws, which manifestly tended to the ruin of the Commonwealth. That he had spared no pains in either, and made the best provision that was possible: but that the malice and perverseness of some men was so great, and had raised such an opposition to his good designs, that he found himself incapable of doing the least service to the publick, and them so far from being inclined to deliberate upon any thing he proposed, that they would not so much as hear of it. That as he plainly saw it was not in his power to be of any further use to his Country, he knew not for what reason he should continue any longer in an office which he either did not really deserve, or was thought unworthy of by others. Upon which account, he would retire to privacy, and leave the people to chuse another person who might either have more virtue or better fortune than himself." After which,

he got up and left the Council, as if he would go directly to his own houſe.

Upon this, ſuch of the Council as were in the ſecret, and others that wiſhed for a change, raiſed a tumult, to which the Signiory and Colleges immediately repaired; and ſeeing their Gonfalonier retiring, they obliged him, partly by their authority and partly by their intreaties, to return to the Council, which was in great confuſion. Many of the principal Citizens were threatened and treated with the utmoſt inſolence: amongſt the reſt Carlo Strozzi was collared by an artificer, and would certainly have been knocked on the head, if ſome of the by-ſtanders had not reſcued him with much difficulty. But the perſon that made the greateſt diſturbance was Benedetto degli Alberti, who got into one of the windows of the Palace, and called out to the people to arm: upon which, the Piazza was inſtantly full of armed men, and the Colleges were obliged to do that by fear, which they would not come into when they were petitioned. In the mean time, the Captains of the parties had aſſembled as many of the Citizens as they could in their Palace, to conſult what courſe was to be taken in order to prevent the paſſing of this Decree: but when they ſaw ſo great a tumult, and were informed what had happened in the Council, they all thought proper to return to their own houſes.

But whoſoever he may be, that intends to make any alteration in a Commonwealth, and to effect it by raiſing the multitude, will find himſelf deceived if he thinks he can ſtop where he will, and conduct it as he pleaſes. The deſign of Sylveſtro in promoting that law was only to have quieted and ſecured the city; but the thing took a very different turn *: for

* When circumſtances of time will not admit of alterations, the neceſſary, it is much better to let things remain as they are, than to attempt a reformation; ſince the remedy perhaps may prove worſe than the diſeaſe. It is prudent in this caſe, to imitate the practice of phyſicians, with regard to certain patients, whom they will not allow

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the people were in ſuch a ferment, that the ſhops were ſhut up, the houſes barricadoed, and many removed their goods for ſecurity into the Churches and Convents; every one apprehending ſome fatal conſequence. All the Companies of the Arts aſſembled, and each of them appointed a Syndic: the Signiory called the Colleges together, and were a whole day in conſultation with the Syndics how to provide ſome means for compoſing theſe diſorders to the ſatisfaction of all parties; but as there was great variety of opinions amongſt them, nothing was concluded. The next day the Arts drew out their ſeveral Companies; which the Signiory being informed of, and apprehending what might happen, called the Council together to conſider of a proper remedy: but as ſoon as it was aſſembled the tumult increaſed, and the ſtandards of the Arts, with a conſiderable number of men under arms, immediately took poſſeſſion of the Piazza. In order therefore, to give the Arts and the reſt of the people ſome hopes of ſatisfaction, and to prevent further miſchief, the Council gave a full power (which the Florentines call Balia) to the Signiory, Colleges, the Eight, the Captains of the Parties, and the Syndics of the Arts, to reform the State in ſuch a manner as they ſhould think moſt advantageous for the public. But whilſt they were employed in this, ſome of the inferior Companies of the Arts, at the inſtigation of certain perſons who wanted to revenge the late injuries which they had received from the Guelphs, detached themſelves from the reſt, and went to the houſe of Lapo da Caſtiglionchio, which they plundered and burnt. Lapo himſelf, when he ſaw the Signiory at the head of this attack upon the Guelphs, and the people all in arms, having no other remedy but either to abſcond or fly,

to take phyſick; becauſe it would inevitably ſtir up many ill humours in their bodies, which are leſs dangerous in a ſtate of coagulation than of agitation. "Expediebat, quaſi ægræ ſauciæque, Reipublicæ requieſcere quomodo cunque, ne vulnera curatione ipſâ reſcinderentur." Says Florus, l. iii. c. 23.

firſt of all took ſanctuary in the Church of Santa Croce, and afterwards fled to Caſentino, in the habit of a Monk, where he was often heard to condemn Pietro degli Albizi for having put off their deſign till St. John's day, and himſelf for having concurred in it. But Pietro and Carlo Strozzi, upon the firſt rumour of the tumult, only concealed themſelves, in hopes that their friends and relations would have intereſt enough to ſecure their ſtay in Florence when it was over.

The houſe of Lapo being thus burnt and rifled, ſeveral others underwent the ſame fate, either out of public hatred or private malice; (as miſchief is generally ſoon propagated when once begun) and to go through with their work the more completely, they broke open the Jails, and ſet the priſoners at liberty: after which, they plundered the Monaſtery of St. Agnoli, and the Convent di Santo Spirito, into which ſeveral of the Citizens had conveyed their moſt valuable effects. Nor would the public chamber have eſcaped their fury, if they had not been reſtrained by the preſence and authority of one of the Signiory, who being mounted on horſeback, and attended by a body of armed men, oppoſed himſelf to the rage of the multitude in the moſt effectual manner he could. This commotion being thus in ſome meaſure quieted, partly by the authority of the Signiory, and partly by the approach of night, the Balia proceeded the next morning to requalify the Ammoniti, though with an injunction not to exerciſe any function in the Magiſtracy during the next three years. They repealed ſuch laws as had been made by the Guelphs to the prejudice of the other Citizens, and proclaimed Lapo da Caſtiglionchio and his aſſociates Rebels, with many others that had incurred the hatred of the public: after which, the names of the new Signiory were publiſhed, and Luigi Guicciardini declared their Gonfalonier. As they were all eſteemed men of pacific diſpoſitions, and deſirous of public tranquillity, great hopes were conceived that there would be no more

more tumults. However, the ſhops were not opened, the Citizens ſtill continued armed, and ſtrong guards were placed in all parts of the city: ſo that the Signiors were not publickly inveſted with the Magiſtracy, or with the uſual pomp; but privately in the Palace, and without any ceremony. They rightly concluded, that the beſt and moſt neceſſary ſervice they could do the public in the beginning of their office, would be to compoſe the city: for which purpoſe, they commanded the people to lay down their arms, the ſhops to be opened, and every one that had been called out of the Country to the aſſiſtance of any Citizen, immediately to depart. They planted guards in the ſeveral ſtreets; ſo that if thoſe that were admoniſhed could have been content, the whole city was in a fair way of being quieted. But as they thought it hard to wait three years longer before they could enjoy any ſhare in the Magiſtracy, the Arts having aſſembled again to obtain them ſatisfaction in that point, demanded of the Signiory that for the good and quiet of the city, it ſhould be decreed that no Citizen for the future ſhould be admoniſhed as a Ghibeline, who had ever been one of the Signiory or the College, or the Captains of the companies, or the Conſuls, or Syndics of any of the arts: and further, that a new imborſation ſhould be made of the Guelph party and the old one burnt. Theſe demands were readily granted both by the Signiory and the Councils, in hopes of preventing any further tumult. But as it ſeldom happens that men who covet the property of others and long for revenge, are ſatisfied with a bare reſtitution of their own, ſome who expected to advance their fortunes by exciting commotions, endeavoured to perſuade the Artificers that they could never be ſafe, except many of their enemies were either baniſhed or cut off: which ſuggeſtions being repreſented to the Signiory, they ſummoned the Magiſtrates of the Arts and their Syndics to attend them; and when they were aſſembled,

Luigi Guicciardini, their Gonfalonier, addreſſed himſelf to them in the following manner:

"If theſe Gentlemen as well as myſelf had not long ago been acquainted with the temper and genius of this city, and obſerved that its foreign wars were no ſooner ended, but diſſenſions began at home, we ſhould have been more alarmed and more incenſed at the tumults which have lately happened: but as things that are familiar to us become leſs affecting, we have borne them with ſome degree of patience; eſpecially as we were conſcious to ourſelves that the cauſes of them could not be imputed to any miſconduct on our part, and had reaſon to hope that they, like all former commotions, would ſometime or other have an end, upon our complying with ſo many and ſuch extravagant demands. But finding you are ſo far from being ſatisfied, as you ought to be, that you are contriving freſh miſchiefs againſt your fellow Citizens, and endeavouring to procure their baniſhment, we confeſs we are highly diſpleaſed at the malice and baſeneſs of your proceedings. We can aſſure you, with great truth, that if we had apprehended the city would have been in the leaſt danger, during the time of our Magiſtracy, either by ſiding with or againſt you, we would have declined that honour by a voluntarily exile. But preſuming we had people to deal with, who had ſome degree of humanity, and love of their Country ſtill left, we chearfully accepted it in hopes of getting the better of your Ambition at laſt by our lenity, and readineſs to oblige you. We have the misfortune however, to ſee that the more we grant, the more ſhameleſs and arrogant are your demands. And if we are obliged to tell you ſo, it is not with any deſign to increaſe your diſcontents, but to convince you of your error: others perhaps may flatter you, but we ſhall always think it our duty to tell you plainly, and without diſguiſe, what we think is for your good. What is there, in the name of God, that you can reaſonably aſk more of us? you deſired to have the Captains of

the

the parties deprived of their authority: they have been deprived. You insisted that the old Imborsation should be burnt, and a new one made; we consented. You wanted to have those reinstated in the Magistracy that had been admonished: it has been granted. At your intercession, we pardoned such as had been guilty of burning houses and robbing Churches, and banished many of our principal Citizens at your instigation. To gratify you, the grandees are bridled with new laws, and every thing done that might give you content. Where then can we expect your demands will stop; or how long will you thus abuse your liberty? don't you perceive, that whilst we submit with patience, you shew no moderation in your Victory? whither will your dissensions at last hurry this poor city? can you ever forget how Castruccio, a private Citizen of Lucca, availed himself of such Divisions to distress it? and how the Duke of Athens, from an inferior Commander in your service, made himself your Lord and Sovereign? on the contrary, when ye were united, neither the Archbishop of Milan, nor the Pope himself, was able to cope with you; but, after a war that lasted many years, were forced to sheath their swords with dishonour. Why then will ye suffer your own discords (when ye have no other enemies) to bring a city into slavery, which so many powerful princes could never reduce? for what else can ye expect from your divisions, what from the goods ye have already taken, or may hereafter take from your fellow Citizens, but servitude and poverty? the persons you plunder, are those whose fortunes and abilities are the defence of the State, and if they fail, how must it be supported? whatever is got that way, cannot last long; and then ye have nothing to look for but remediless famine and distress. We therefore command you, and, as far as our dignity will allow of it, we for once intreat you to live quietly, and be content with such regulations as we have established; and if any thing seems wanting to give

you

you ſatisfaction, that you would make it known with modeſty, and not inſiſt upon it with clamour and tumult: for if your requeſts are reaſonable, you may aſſure yourſelves, they ſhall always be complied with, and no handle left for wicked and deſigning men to plot the deſtruction of your Country, and conſequently of yourſelves, under the ſhelter of your own wings."

The reaſonableneſs of theſe expoſtulations made ſuch an impreſſion upon the audience, that they humbly deſired the Gonfalonier to accept their thanks, acknowledged that he had behaved himſelf like an upright Magiſtrate, and a good Citizen, and promiſed to pay a ready obedience in whatſoever he ſhould command them. To make a trial of them, the Signiory deputed two Citizens for each of the chief offices, to conſult with the Syndics of the Arts, what reformations were moſt neceſſary to be made in them for the good of the publick, and to report them to the Signiory.

But whilſt theſe things were in agitation, a freſh tumult aroſe which was attended with ſtill more danger to the city than the former. The greater part of the late robberies and other miſchiefs had been committed by the Rabble and dregs of the people; and thoſe of them that had been the moſt audacious, apprehended that when the moſt material differences were compoſed, they ſhould be called to account for their crimes, and deſerted, as it always happens, by thoſe very perſons at whoſe inſtigation they had committed them. Beſides which, the inferior ſort of people had conceived an hatred againſt the richer Citizens, and principals of the Arts, upon a pretence that they had not been rewarded for their paſt ſervices in proportion to what they deſerved. For when the city was firſt divided into Arts, in the time of Charles the Firſt, there was a proper head or governor appointed over each of them, to whoſe juriſdiction in civil caſes every perſon in the ſeveral Arts was to be ſubject. Theſe Arts or Companies, as we have ſaid, were at

firſt but twelve, but afterwards they were increaſed to twenty-one, and arrived at ſuch power and authority that in a few years they wholly engroſſed the government of the city: and becauſe ſome were more, and others leſs honourable amongſt them, they came by degrees to be diſtinguiſhed, and ſeven of them were called the *Greater*, and fourteen the *Leſs*. From this diviſion, and other reaſons before-mentioned, proceeded the arrogance of the Captains of the parties: for the Citizens that had formerly been Guelphs, to which party thoſe offices were always appropriated, had made it a conſtant rule to favour the greater Arts, and to diſcountenance the leſs, and all thoſe that ſided with them; which chiefly gave occaſion to all the tumults we have hitherto made mention of. And, as in the diviſion of the people into Arts and Corporations, there were many trades in which the meaner ſort are uſually occupied, that were not incorporated into any diſtinct or particular company of their own, but admitted into any of the others, according as the Nature of their Craft made them fit, it happened that when they were not duly ſatisfied for their labour, or any otherwiſe oppreſſed by their maſters, they had no other head to apply to for redreſs, but the Magiſtrate of that company, to which the perſon belonged that employed them, who, they commonly thought, did not do them juſtice. Now, of all the Companies in the City, that of the Clothiers had then, and ſtill has, the moſt of this ſort of people depending upon it; and being more opulent and powerful than any of the reſt, it maintained by far the greater part of the multitude. The meaner ſort of the people, therefore, both of this company and the others, were highly enraged at ſuch treatment; and being terrified alſo at the apprehenſion of being puniſhed for their late outrages, they had frequent meetings in the night; where, conſidering what had happened, they repreſented to each other, the danger they were in. And to animate and unite them all, one of the boldeſt and moſt experienced of them, harangued his Companions in this manner:

"If

"If it was now to be debated, whether we ſhould take arms to plunder and burn the houſes of our fellow Citizens, and rob the Churches, I ſhould be one of thoſe who would think it worthy of great conſideration, and perhaps be induced to prefer ſecure poverty to hazardous gain. But ſince arms have been already taken up, and much miſchief done, the firſt points to be conſidered are, I ſhould think, in what manner we muſt ſecure ourſelves, and ward off the penalties we have incurred. If no one ſhould give us this advice, without doubt, Neceſſity itſelf would point it out. You ſee, the whole City is full of rage and complaints againſt us, the Citizens are daily in council, and the Magiſtrates frequently aſſembled. Aſſure yourſelves, they are either preparing chains for us, or contriving how to raiſe forces to deſtroy us. It behoves us, therefore, to have two objects chiefly in view, at theſe conſultations: firſt, how to avoid the puniſhment due to our late miſdeeds; and in the next place, what means are to be uſed that we may enjoy a greater degree of liberty and ſatisfaction for the future, than we have done hitherto. To come off with impunity for our paſt offences, it is neceſſary, if I may preſume to adviſe you, to add ſtill more to them, to redouble our outrages to rifle and burn a great number of houſes, and artfully depend upon our numbers for protection: for where many are guilty, none are chaſtiſed. Small crimes are puniſhed, and great ones uſually rewarded; and where many ſuffer, few ſeek revenge; a general calamity being always borne with more patience, than a particular one. I ſay again, therefore, that to redouble our crimes, is the ſureſt way to procure a pardon for what has been already done, and to obtain the liberty we deſire *: nor is there any difficulty to diſcourage

* Monſieur Balzac ſays, from Phalaris's Epiſtles, "It has always been a general opinion, that they who riſe in arms againſt their country, or their prince, are in a manner under a neceſſity to do evil, becauſe they find it unſafe to do good. They dare not become innocent, leſt they ſhould expoſe themſelves to the ſeverity of thoſe us.

us. The enterprize is easy, and the success not to be doubted of. Our enemies are opulent, indeed, but divided: their disunion will give us the victory, and their riches, when we have got them, will maintain it. Let not the antiquity of their blood, nor the meanness of our own, with which they so insolently upbraid us, either dazzle or overawe you. All families having the same original, are of equal antiquity *: nor has nature shewn any partiality in the formation of mankind. Let both sides be stripped naked, and both will be found alike. Clothe yourselves in their robes, and them in your rags; and then you will appear the Nobles, and they the Plebeians: for it is poverty alone that makes the real difference betwixt us. It fills me with just concern, indeed, to hear that some of you repent forsooth of what you have done, and out of a qualm of conscience, resolve to proceed no further. If that be the case, I have been mistaken in my judgment, and you are not the men I once thought you. Neither conscience, nor the fear of infamy, ought to terrify you: for those that succeed in their attempts (let them have used what means soever) are never upbraided with them, or called by ignominious names: and as for conscience, you have no reason to give yourselves any trouble about it. When famine, and racks, and dungeons, are sure to be our portion, what greater terrors can there be in Hell? consider the course of this world; you will find the rich, the great, and the powerful, have arrived at all their wealth, and grandeur, and authority, either by violence or fraud: and

laws, against which they have offended: they continue therefore in their crimes, because they think men will not be satisfied with their repentance."

* This is a constant topic with ringleaders of tumult and sedition; we find it urged by the famous Gabrini Rienzi, in the revolution he occasioned at Rome, by Massianello to the rabble of Naples, and Wat Tyler's Chaplain in the Kentish insurrection, during the reign of Richard II. who was so ingenious to verify it in the following manner:

When Adam dely'd and Eve span,
Who was then a Gentleman?

when

when once they are in poſſeſſion of them, you ſee with what oſtentation they gild over the foulneſs of their uſurpations, with the unjuſt, but glorious titles of conqueſt and good policy. Obſerve, on the other hand, what generally becomes of thoſe who are either too ſtupid or too puſillanimous to follow their examples: they are buried in poverty and obſcurity, or wear away their lives in ſlavery and contempt. Honeſt ſervants are ſervants for ever, and good men are always poor: whilſt the bold and reſolute ſoon free themſelves from bondage, and the fraudulent and rapacious from indigence and diſtreſs. God and Nature have given every man the means of making his fortune: and it is ſooner and more eaſily done by force or circumvention, than by honeſty and plain dealing. Hence it is, that we ſee mankind in general is more prone to rapine than induſtry, to evil than good. Hence it is that we devour each other, and he that is weakeſt is at all times ſure to come off with the worſt. Force, therefore, is always to be uſed, when there is an opportunity: and what fairer opportunity than the preſent, can we ever hope for from the hands of Fortune? The Citizens are divided, the Signiory irreſolute, the Magiſtrates frighted: ſo that before they can come to any determination, the matter will be over, and we ſhall either be maſters of the whole City, or of ſo great a part of it, as will not only procure us pardon for what is paſt, but enable us to keep our enemies in ſufficient awe for the future. I confeſs the reſolution is bold and dangerous*; but where the neceſſity is ur-

* In this ſpeech, which is otherwiſe in Character, there is, however, this inconſiſtency, that in the former part of it, the Plebeian having repreſented the enterprize "as eaſy, and the ſucceſs not to be doubted of;" now ſays, he confeſſes the reſolution is "bold and dangerous." This may either be an overſight in the author, or purpoſely put into the mouth of the Speaker, who is not to be conſidered as an orator, but an illiterate rough man, provoked by oppreſſion, and blinded by his paſſions to ſuch a degree, that whilſt he is earneſtly recommending revenge, he forgets what he has ſaid before, and contradicts himſelf, as it generally happens upon ſuch occaſions. The latter perhaps, may be the caſe; ſince Machiavel ſays,

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gent, boldneſs becomes prudence, and danger, in great undertakings, is always deſpiſed by brave and courageous men. Thoſe enterprizes that are begun with peril, for the moſt part are crowned with glory; and men ſeldom extricate themſelves from one danger, but by riſquing a greater. Beſides, as we have nothing but priſons and tortures, and death before our eyes at preſent, we have leſs to fear in behaving ourſelves like men, than from deſpair, and giving up all for loſt: for in one caſe our deſtruction is certain, and in the other, there is a poſſibility of ſucceſs. How often have I heard you curſe the inſatiable avarice of your Taſk-maſters? how often groan under the injuſtice of your Magiſtrates? now is your time, not only to ſhake off the yoke, but to retaliate their oppreſſions. Time has wings, opportunity flies away, and when once paſt, are never to be recalled. You ſee what preparations they are making; let us be before-hand with them. If we ſtrike the firſt blow, we are ſure of victory, to the ruin of our enemies, and the exaltation of ourſelves; for it is an enterprize that will honour many of us, and ſecure us all."

This ſpeech ſo inflamed his hearers, who before were ſufficiently ripe for miſchief, that they determined to riſe as ſoon as they had drawn a proper number of accomplices into the conſpiracy: and in the mean time, they bound themſelves by an oath, to aſſiſt and ſtand by each other, when any of them ſhould be oppreſſed by the Magiſtrates.

But whilſt they were conſpiring in this manner againſt the government, the Signiory had ſecret information of their proceedings, and cauſed one Simone della Piazza, and ſome others, to be apprehended, who confeſſed the whole plot, and that the very next day was deſigned for the inſurrection. Upon

in the Dedication of this hiſtory to Pope Clement VII. "That the ſpeeches and harangues to the public, as well as his own private reflexions and obſervations, are always delivered without reſtraint or reſerve, and in a manner conſiſtent with the actions, character, and temper of the perſon that ſpeaks, or is ſpoken of." The reader is left to judge.

this,

this, considering the danger they were in, they immediately summoned the Colleges, together with the Syndics of the Arts, and those Citizens that had been appointed to use their endeavours for the re union of the City. But, before they could be got together, it was late at night, and the Signiory were advised by them to consult with the Consuls of the Arts, who were instantly sent for, and unanimously agreed, that all the Militia of the City should be raised, and ordered the Gonfaloniers of the people to appear early the next Morning, at the head of their several Companies under arms in the Piazza before their Palace. At the time that Simone was under torture and the Citizens were assembling, one Niccolo da St. Friano, who took care of the clock, happened to be in the Palace, and being aware of what they were about, he ran home as fast as he could, and raised all the Neighbourhood; so that above a thousand men were presently got together in arms at the Piazza di Santo Spirito. Upon this, the rest of the conspirators took the alarm, and the Piazzas of St. Pietro Maggiore and St. Lorenzo, (places which had been appointed before-hand for their rendezvous) were likewise soon filled with armed men. It was now day-light in the morning of the twenty-first of July, and not above eighty of the militia were assembled to support the Signiory; and of the Gonfaloniers, not so much as one appeared; for as they were informed, that the whole City was in arms, they durst not stir out of their houses. The first of the mob that entered the Piazza of the Signiory, were those that had assembled at St. Pietro Maggiore, and not being opposed by the Militia, they were soon followed by the rest, who likewise meeting with no resistance, began to call upon the Signiory in a furious and threatening manner, to deliver up their prisoners: but as no regard was paid to their threats, they determined to use other means to force them to a compliance, and immediately set fire to the house of Luigi Guicciardini: upon which, the Signiory, to prevent greater mischief,

chief, ordered the prisoners to be discharged. When they had thus got their accomplices safe into their hands again, they took the Gonfalone, or Standard della Giustizia, from the Esecutore; under the cover and authority of which, they burnt several of the Citizens houses down to the ground, and wreaked their malice upon many others, against whom they had taken any pique, either on public or private accounts. For if any one of the Plebeians had been injured or affronted by a particular Citizen, he led the Mob directly to his enemy's house: nay, it was sufficient barely to mention the person's name, or to call out, *to such a man's house*, or *to such a one's shop*, and immediately the new Gonfalonier carried the Standard that way. They burnt all the books and accounts of the Clothier's company, and after they had done a great deal more mischief, to crown their proceedings with some action of merit and *eclat*, as they thought, they knighted sixty-four Citizens: amongst whom were Sylvestro de' Medici, Benedetto and Antonio degli Alberti, Tomaso Strozzi, and others of their friends; though some of them submitted to it with much reluctance. Their levity, indeed, was very remarkable upon this occasion, for they conferred the honour of knighthood on some of those very persons whose houses they had burnt down but a few hours before; particularly upon Luigi Guicciardini, the late Gonfalonier: such is the caprice of the multitude, and so soon are their disgusts changed into favour and affection!

The Signiory being thus abandoned in this perilous conjuncture by the Militia, the heads of the Arts, and even by their Gonfaloniers, were not a little dismayed when they saw nobody come to their assistance, as they had ordered: for out of the sixteen companies, only those of the *the Golden Lion*, and *the Squirrel*, under the command of Giovenco della Stufa and Giovanni Cambi, made their appearance; and they did not stay long in the Piazza; for not being joined by the rest, they thought it most prudent to draw off

again. Some of the Citizens of their party, ſeeing the Multitude ſo outrageous, and the Palace deſerted, durſt not ſtir out of their doors; others mixed with the Mob, and went along with them, hoping thereby to ſave their own houſes, and thoſe of their friends: by which means the number of the people was much increaſed, and the Signiory left almoſt alone to defend themſelves. This ferment continued all the day; and at night they ſat down, to the number of ſix thouſand, near the palace of Meſſer Stephano, behind St. Barnaby's Church; from whence they ſent, in a threatning manner, before day-break, to demand the Colours from the Heads of the Arts. The next morning, as ſoon as it was light, they proceeded with the Standard of Juſtice, and the Colours of the ſeveral Arts, to the Palace of the Podeſta, and demanded poſſeſſion of it; which being refuſed, they broke down the doors, and forced their way into it. The Signiory, therefore, being deſirous to come to ſome compromiſe with them, ſince they were not able to quell them by force, ſent four of their body to them, at the Palace of the Podeſta, to know their demands: but upon their arrival there, they found that the Ringleaders of the Plebeians had already ſettled the terms which they expected from the Signiory, with the Syndics of the Arts, and ſome other of the principal Citizens: ſo that they returned with four Deputies from the People, who made the following demands: That the Clothiers Company ſhould no longer be ſubject to the juriſdiction of any Magiſtrate who was not a Florentine by birth. That there ſhould be three new companies of Arts added to the others; one of Woolcombers and Dyers; another of Barbers, Taylors, Shoemakers, and other ſuch mechanics; and the third, of the Trades that were inferior to theſe: out of which Companies, two of the Signiory ſhould always be choſen, and three more out of the other fourteen minor Arts. That the Signory ſhould provide Halls where theſe new Companies might meet for the diſpatch of buſineſs. That no perſon that was incor-

incorporated into theſe Arts ſhould be compelled to pay any debt under the ſum of fifty * Ducats, before the expiration of the two next enſuing years, at which time the Principal only ſhould be paid to the Creditor, and the intereſt into the Bank, or publick Stock. That all ſuch as were in baniſhment, or under any ſentence, ſhould be recalled and pardoned: and that thoſe who had been admoniſhed, ſhould be made capable of enjoying any dignity or poſt of honour. Many other articles were added to theſe, in favour of their particular friends, and to the prejudice of their enemies, ſome of whom they inſiſted ſhould be ſent into exile, and others admoniſhed. All which demands, grievous and diſhonourable as they were to the government, were yet deliberated upon by the Signiory, the Colleges, and the Council of the People, who were apprehenſive of ſtill greater miſchiefs, if they did not comply with them. But, before a Law could be paſſed for that purpoſe, it was neceſſary it ſhould have the aſſent of the Common Council, which could not be obtained immediately, as it was contrary to eſtabliſhed cuſtom to hold two councils on the ſame day. However, as they were told that was the only obſtacle, the Arts ſeemed pretty well contented, and the people ſo well ſatisfied, that they promiſed to lay down their arms, and give no further diſturbance, as ſoon as the Law they demanded ſhould be paſſed. The next morning, whilſt the Common Council were deliberating upon it, the Multitude, naturally voluble and impatient, got together again under the ſame Colours, and returned into the Piazza before the Palace; where they made ſuch a dreadful clamour, that the whole Council, as well as the Signiory, were not a little terrified: and Guerriante Marignuoli, one of the Signiors, being more frighted than any of the reſt, ran down ſtairs under a pretence of ſhutting the gates, and ſneaked away to his own houſe. He was diſcovered, however, by the Mob; but they

* The Silver Ducat is worth about 4s. 6d. ſterling, the Golden one about 9s.

did not offer any ſort of violence to him; and contented themſelves with crying out, as he paſſed thro' them, "that if all the Signiory did not immediately quit the Palace, they would murder their Children, and burn their houſes." In the mean time, the Law had paſſed, the Signiory had retired into their proper apartment, and the Counſellors being come down ſtairs, were walking in the Portico and Cloyſters, expecting the immediate deſtruction of the City, and afraid to ſtir out, conſidering the baſeneſs of the Mob *, and the perverſeneſs, or rather the puſillanimity of thoſe, in whoſe power it was not only to have curbed, but utterly ſuppreſſed them. The Signiory were in no leſs diſtraction, and gave up the City for loſt, ſeeing themſelves deſerted by one of their colleagues, and that nobody had the courage either to aſſiſt or even ſo much as to comfort or adviſe them.

Whilſt they were in this diſtreſs, and knew not what courſe to take, Tomaſo Strozzi and Benedetto Alberti, either out of ambition, and a deſire of remaining alone in poſſeſſion of the Palace, or perhaps becauſe they thought it the beſt expedient to allay the fury of the populace, adviſed them to give way to it, by reſigning the Magiſtracy, and retiring to their own houſes. This advice, though given by thoſe that had been the chief fomentors and abettors of the inſurrection, would have been immediately

* Livy's remark is moſt true. *Hæc natura multitudinis eſt; aut ſervit humiliter, aut ſuperbe dominatur: libertatem quæ media eſt, nec ſternere modice, nec habere ſciunt; & non ferme deſunt irarum indulgentes miniſtri, qui avidos atque intemperantes Plebeicrum animos ad ſanguinem & cædes irritent.* "Such is the nature of the multitude; humble and abject even to baſeneſs when they obey; but inſolent to the laſt degree, when they command. They are neither content with liberty, nor without it, nor know how to keep any medium. And for the moſt part, there are perſons ready enough to indulge their paſſions, and irritate their greedy and intemperate minds to plunder and bloodſhed." Livy, lib. xxiv. c. 25. As Milton ſays of them;

"They bawl for freedom in their ſenſeleſs mood,
And ſtill revolt when truth would ſet them free.
Licence they mean, when they cry Liberty;
For who loves that, muſt firſt be wiſe and good;
But from that mark how far they rove we ſee,
For all this waſte of wealth and loſs of blood."

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complied with by all the reſt of the Signiory, if Niccolo del Bene and Alamanno Acciaivoli, who had a little recovered their ſpirits, and were moved with a juſt indignation, had not made anſwer, "that if other people had a mind to retire, it could not be helped; but for their own parts, they were determined rather to die like men, than quit the Palace, or lay down their authority before the uſual time. This oppoſition increaſed the perplexity of the Signiory, and the rage of the People, to ſuch a degree, that at laſt the Gonfalonier, chuſing rather to reſign his office in a diſhonourable manner, than to maintain it at the peril of his life, recommended himſelf to the protection of Tomaſo Strozzi, who led him out of the Palace, and conducted him to his own houſe. Upon which, all the reſt of the Signiory thought fit to follow the example of their Gonfalonier, and were led away one by one: ſo that Niccolo and Alamanno ſeeing themſelves left alone, and thinking it would be rather fool-hardineſs than prudence to ſtay there any longer in their circumſtances, likewiſe retired and left the Palace in the hands of the people, and the Eight that had been appointed to act as Secretaries at War, who had not yet laid down their offices.

When the people firſt entered the Palace, one Michael di Lando, a Woolcomber, but a bare-footed ragged fellow, carried the Standard of Juſtice before them; and after he had got up to the top of the ſteps, near enough to be heard by the Signiory, who were then ſitting, he turned himſelf round to his followers, and ſaid to them, "You ſee, my friends, not only the Palace, but the whole City is in your hands; how would you have them diſpoſed of?" Upon which, they unanimouſly cried out, "that he ſhould be their Gonfalonier and chief Magiſtrate, and govern the City as he pleaſed." Michael, therefore, who was a ſhrewd ſenſible fellow, and much more obliged to Nature than Fortune, readily accepted of the government, with a deſign, however, to compoſe

the City, and put an end to all disturbances as soon as possible. For this purpose, and to keep the people employed, that he might have a little time to digest his designs, he sent them to search for * Ser Nuto, who had been appointed Provost Marshal, or rather Hangman, by Lapo da Castiglionchio. And to begin his administration with an appearance of Justice, as he had acquired it by favour, he caused a Proclamation to be issued, that nobody should dare to burn or plunder any man's house for the future: to enforce the observance of which, he ordered a Gibbet to be erected in the great Piazza. After this, in order for a further reform of the City, he immediately turned all the Syndics of the Arts out of their offices, deprived the Signiory and Colleges of their authority; and burnt the old Imborsations. In the mean time, the Mob had brought Ser Nuto into the Piazza, where they hung him up by one leg upon the Gibbet; and as every one tore away a joint, or a piece of his flesh, in two or three minutes, there was nothing left of him but one of his feet. On the other hand, the Eight Secretaries at War, thinking the government of the City devolved upon them, since the abdication of the late Signiory, had already appointed a new one: but Michael being informed of it, sent them word to quit the Palace immediately, for he intended to let every one see that he knew how to govern Florence without their advice or assistance. He then called together all the Syndics of the Arts, and appointed a new Signiory, consisting of Eight members: four of which were chosen out of the Plebeians, two out of the greater companies, and two more out of the less. He likewise reformed the other branches of the Magistracy, and divided it into three jurisdictions, one of which was to administer justice

* The Italian word *Messere*, or *Messer* (which is a contraction of it) is a title of respect prefixed to the proper name of a man, and answers to our *Mr.* But the word *Ser*, which is still a further abbreviation, is rather a term of diminution and inferiority, and sometimes of contempt, as we say in English, *Master* such a one.

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to the new Companies, another to the greater, and a third to the leſs Arts. He gave the rents of all the ſhops upon the old Bridge to Sylveſtro de' Medici, and took the Podeſteria, or Bailiwic of Empoli, himſelf: beſides which, he was very liberal to many other Citizens, who had befriended the Plebeians, not only out of gratitude for paſt favours, but to engage them to ſupport him in future againſt envy.

But in this reformation of the State, the Plebeians thought Michael had been too partial to ſome of the principal Commoners, and that they themſelves had not ſuch a ſhare in the government, as was ſufficient to defend, much leſs to maintain them in it; wherefore, according to their uſual inſolence, they again took arms and ran in a tumultuous manner under their Colours into the Piazza, calling to the Signiory to come out upon the Ringheria, there to deliberate upon new matters, which they had to propoſe to them for their own ſecurity, and the good of the public. But Michael being well acquainted with their arrogance, and not caring to exaſperate them too far, before he knew what their demands were, gently reprimanded them for applying in ſo clamorous a manner, exhorting them to lay down their arms, and aſſuring them, that they ſhould find the Signiory ready to comply with any thing that was reaſonable; but that it was not conſiſtent with their dignity to ſuffer it to be extorted from them by compulſion. This anſwer ſo enraged the multitude againſt thoſe in the Palace, that they drew off to a place near St. Mary's new Church, where they appointed eight heads over them, with other ſubordinate Officers and Magiſtrates, to give them more dignity and reputation: ſo that the city had now two Tribunals, and was governed by two diſtinct adminiſtrations. Theſe heads reſolved amongſt themſelves, that eight perſons, to be choſen by their own new Companies, ſhould always reſide with the Signiory in the Palace, and that whatſoever was reſolved on by the others, ſhould not paſs into a law, till it had their aſſent. They took away all ho-

nours and emoluments which had been granted to Sylveſtro de' Medici, and Michael di Lando, in their former deliberations; and aſſigned places and penſions to ſeveral of their own partiſans, the better to ſupport the dignity of their reſpective offices. After they had come to theſe reſolutions, to make them more effectual, they ſent two deputies to the Signiory, who were to inſiſt upon having them confirmed by the Councils, and to threaten them with violence in caſe it ſhould be refuſed. Theſe deputies, accordingly, delivered the ſubſtance of their Commiſſion to the Signiory, with much boldneſs and preſumption, reproaching the Gonfalonier with the authority they had conferred on him, the favours he had received from them, the ingratitude, and ſupercilious manner in which he had ſince behaved; and concluded their ſpeech with ſuch menaces, that Michael, not able to bear with ſo intolerable a degree of inſolence any longer, determined (with a reſolution more ſuitable to the dignity of his new office, than the meanneſs of his birth) to chaſtiſe this height of audaciouſneſs in an exemplary manner; and having drawn a ſword which he had by his ſide, after he had given them ſeveral cuts with it, he ſent them tied neck and heels to priſon.

As ſoon as the Plebeians heard of this, they were enflamed to the laſt degree, and reſolved to uſe violence to obtain their ends, now other means had failed: for which purpoſe, they moved forwards in a furious and diſorderly manner, directly towards the Palace with a deſign to force their way into it. Michael in the mean time, apprehending the conſequence of what he had done, determined to be before hand with them, thinking it more honourable to ſtrike the firſt blow, than to ſtay cooped up within the walls of the Palace, till he was attacked by the enemy and forced to ſneak out of it, as the late Gonfalonier had done to his great mortification and diſgrace. He therefore aſſembled a conſiderable body of the Citizens, who now began to repent of their folly, and

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putting himſelf at the head of them on horſeback, he proceeded towards St. Mary's with an intent to engage the Multitude. The Plebeians likewiſe, as we have juſt ſaid, had already determined to attack him, and were moving forward towards the Palace at the ſame juncture for that purpoſe; but as each ſide happened to take a different route, they did not meet by the way. Upon which, Michael turning back again, and finding the Mob had got poſſeſſion of the Piazza and were going to make an aſſault upon the Palace, inſtantly fell upon them and diſperſed them, driving ſome of them quite out of the City, and forcing the reſt to throw away their arms and hide themſelves. This victory put an end to the tumult; a victory gained entirely by the magnanimity and good conduct of the Gonfalonier, who upon this occaſion, ſhewed himſelf in valour, generoſity, and prudence, far ſuperior to any other Citizen, and well deſerves to be numbered amongſt thoſe few that have been real benefactors to their Country. For if he had been of an ambitious or ſelf-intereſted diſpoſition, the Republick muſt have totally loſt its liberty, and relapſed into a more intolerable degree of ſervitude than it was under the tyranny of the Duke of Athens. But his integrity would not ſuffer him to cheriſh any deſign that might be prejudicial to the good of the public, and his prudence taught him to conduct himſelf in ſuch a manner, as not only gained him the firſt place and confidence of his own party, but enabled him to triumph over that of his enemies. Theſe proceedings ſtruck a terror into the Plebeians, and opened the eyes of the better ſort of people, who could not help wondering at their own ſtupidity, that after they had ſuppreſſed the pride of the Nobility, they could ſo patiently ſubmit to be inſulted by the very dregs and refuſe of the city.

When Michael obtained this victory over the Plebeians, the new Signiory was already appointed, two of whom were of ſo baſe and abject condition, that every one ſeemed deſirous to rid themſelves of ſuch infa-

infamous Magiſtrates: ſo that on the firſt of September, when the new Signiory entered upon the Magiſtracy, and the others were coming out of the Palace Gate, there began to be an uproar in the Piazza, which was full of armed men, who ſhouted out with one voice, "that they would have no Plebeians in the Signory." The reſt of the Signiory therefore, in order to appeaſe them, degraded their two aſſociates, one of whom was named Tira, and the other Baroccio, and choſe Georgio Scali and Franciſco di Michaele in their room. They likewiſe diſſolved the Plebeian Companies, and deprived all thoſe of their offices that had any connexion with them, except Michael di Lando, Ludovico di Puccio, and ſome few others of the beſt of them: and in the laſt place, they divided the ſubordinate Magiſtracy into two ſeparate juriſdictions, one of which was to preſide over the greater Arts, and the other over the leſs. For the Signiory, it was only provided in general, that five of that body ſhould be drawn out of the leſs Companies, and four out of the greater; and the Gonfalonier alternately out of each.

In this manner the tranquillity of the city was reeſtabliſhed for that time: and though the government of the republick was taken out of the hands of the Plebeians, yet the lower Companies had more power than the chief Commoners, who were forced, however to be content with what they had, in order to ſatisfy the Arts, and to deprive the Plebeians of their countenance and aſſiſtance. Several others likewiſe that wiſhed to ſee thoſe kept down, who, under the name of the Guelph party, had treated many of their fellow Citizens with ſuch inſolence and indignity, rejoiced at this regulation; and as Georgio Scali, Benedetto Alberti, Sylveſtro de' Medici, and Tomaſo Strozzi were the principal of thoſe who favoured and promoted it, they became in a manner the chief governors of the city. Theſe proceedings, however, and this new model of government revived the old diviſions betwixt the more conſiderable Commoners and

and the lower ſort of Mechanicks, which had firſt been occaſioned by the ambition of the Ricci and Albizi: and becauſe they afterwards produced terrible conſequences, and we ſhall often have occaſion to ſpeak of them in the courſe of this hiſtory, we ſhall henceforward diſtinguiſh theſe two factions by the Names of the *Popular* and the *Plebeian*.

This conſtitution of government laſted three years, a period which, though ſhort, abounded with Executions and Baniſhments: for as thoſe that were chiefly concerned in the adminiſtration well knew there were great numbers of Malecontents both within the city and without it, they lived in perpetual fear and alarm. The diſaffected within the walls, either actually did, or were ſuppoſed to cabal daily againſt the State; and thoſe without, being no longer under any reſtraint, were continually raiſing diſturbances abroad by the aſſiſtance of foreign Princes or Republics, ſometimes in one part, ſometimes in another.

There was then at Bologna one Giannozzo da Salerno, a commander employed in the ſervice of Carlo Durazzo (a deſcendant from the Royal Family of Naples) who deſigning, if poſſible, to wreſt that Kingdom out of the hands of Queen Giovanna, kept this general in pay at the expence of Pope Urban, betwixt whom and the Queen there had lately been great conteſts. There was likewiſe a vaſt number of the Florentine exiles in Bologna at the ſame time, who held a cloſe correſpondence with him and his maſter Carlo, which gave great uneaſineſs to the governors of Florence, as they were the more eaſily prevailed upon thereby to give credit to the malicious reports that were raiſed of ſuch Citizens as they ſuſpected before. In the mean time, whilſt the Magiſtrates were under theſe apprehenſions, they received intelligence that Giannozzo was actually to march towards Florence at the head of the exiles, and that many within the Walls were ready to take up arms at his arrival there and deliver up the city to him. Upon this information, numbers were accuſed; the chief of whom

were Pietro degli Albizi, Carlo and Philippo Strozzi, Cipriano Mangioni, Jacopo Sacchetti, Donato Barbadori, and Giovanni Anſelmi, who were all committed to priſon, except Carlo Strozzi, and he fled. Beſides which, the Signiory ordered Tomaſo Strozzi and Benedetto Alberti to patrole the city with ſome Companies of the Militia, in order to deter any one from riſing in favour of the enemy. After the Priſoners had been examined and nothing criminal could be proved againſt them, the Magiſtrate was going to acquit and diſcharge them: upon which, their enemies immediately called the people together and raiſed ſuch a ferment by their clamours and calumnies, that he was forced to paſs ſentence of death upon them. And though Pietro degli Albizi had been more honoured and reſpected in Florence for a long courſe of years than any other Citizen of his time; yet neither the clearneſs of ſuch an eſtabliſhed reputation, nor the ſplendor of his family availed him any thing. It happened not long before, whilſt he was regaling his fellow Citizens one day at a great entertainment which he had made for them, that ſome perſon unknown (perhaps a true friend with a deſign to put him in mind of moderation in ſo remakable a degree of proſperity, or very likely it might be an enemy, who did it to terrify him with the apprehenſion of ſome ſudden change, when he conſidered the volubility of fortune) ſent him a ſalver of ſweetmeats and amongſt them a large nail, which being obſerved and handed about the table from one to another, was whimſically interpreted as an admonition to nail down the wheel of fortune now he was got to the top of it *; as it muſt

* In the conſulſhip of L. Genutius, and L. Æmilius Mamercus, the plague continuing to afflict the Romans, they had recourſe to the ceremony of driving a nail, which had never been done before, but to keep an account of the years, (quia raræ per ea tempora literæ erant, ſays Livy) according to an ancient Law, "that the Great Prætor ſhould drive a nail on the third day of September." From that time this political ceremony was turned into ſuperſtition, and ſimple people were made to believe, that this action would be effectual to avert public calamities, or at leaſt to nail them down.

of neceſſity happen, if the rotation continued, that he would ſometime or other be whirled to the bottom: and this prognoſtication was indeed fully verified by his ſudden fall and unfortunate end.

Theſe executions occaſioned freſh murmurs and diſcontents in the city: ſo that both thoſe that had got the upper hand, and thoſe that were depreſſed, lived in continual fear and ſuſpicion of each other. Dreadful indeed were the conſequences which flowed from the apprehenſions of the former; as every little accident furniſhed them with a handle to trample upon their fellow Citizens; ſome of whom they daily either put to death, admoniſhed, or ſent into exile. They likewiſe made ſeveral new laws to ſtrengthen their hands, and keep thoſe down of whom they entertained the leaſt ſuſpicion: beſides which, they appointed forty-ſix Commiſſioners, who by the authority of the Signiory were to purge the Commonwealth of all diſaffected perſons. Theſe Commiſſioners admoniſhed thirty-nine Citizens, degraded ſeveral of the higher rank, and exalted many of the lower: and to defend themſelves againſt any danger from abroad, they took † John Aguto into their pay, an Engliſh

and retard their progreſs. This nail was of braſs, and driven into the wall behind the Chapel of Minerva, in the Capitol, on the right hand of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus: and to perform this ceremony, a Dictator was purpoſely created. Vid. Danet in voce Clavus, and Livy, lib. vii. c. 3. Probably this might be a cuſtom amongſt the Italians when this tranſaction happened, and derived from the ancient Romans; ſince they have been forward enough to imitate them in many other rites and modes of worſhip, as the late Dr. Middleton has fully ſhewn in his letter from Rome.

† This John Aguto, or Augut (as he is corruptly called by the Italians) before-mentioned in the firſt book of this hiſtory, was Sir John Hawkwood, an Engliſh Knight; who was ſo highly eſteemed in Italy for his courage and military conduct, that the Senate of Florence honoured him for his extraordinary merits, with an Equeſtrian Statue, and a magnificent monument, as a perpetual teſtimony of his valour and fidelity. The Italian hiſtorians are full of his great exploits, and Paolo Jovio celebrates them in his Elogies. I ſhall only quote the four following verſes concerning him out of Giulio Ferroldo.

Hawkwood, Anglorum decus, et decus, addite, genti
Italicæ, Italico præſidiumque ſolo;
Ut tumuli quondam Florentia, ſic Simulachri
Virtutem Jovius donat honore tuam.

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Commander of very great reputation, who had been many years in the ſervice of the Pope and other Italian Princes. Their apprehenſions from abroad chiefly aroſe from the intelligence they had received that Carlo Durazzo was raiſing a powerful army to invade the Kingdom of Naples, as it was given out, and that he had a great number of the Florentine exiles under his banners. But to guard againſt the danger

Hawkwood, whom England boaſts her ſtouteſt ſon,
And glad Italians their Preſerver own;
A ſtately tomb as grateful Florence gave,
So learned Jovio does thy picture ſave.

This renowned Knight thus celebrated abroad, was neglected and had no honours paid to his memory at home; except that ſome of his fellow ſoldiers and followers in the foreign wars, founded a chauntry for him at Caſtle Henningham, in Eſſex, the place of his birth, and for two of his Companions, John Oliver, and Thomas Newington, Eſquires. Vid. Camden's Britannia, Vol. i. p. 240. Second Edit. by Biſhop Gibſon.

The account given of him by Collier, is as follows: "He was born at Sibble Henningham, in Eſſex, in the reign of Edward III. His Extraction was mean, his Education ſuitable, but his improvement in arms wonderful. His father was Gilbert Hawkwood, a Tanner, who bound him apprentice to a Taylor, in London. But being preſſed into the King's ſervice in his French wars, he behaved himſelf ſo valiantly, that it was not long before he got a company of Foot, and was afterwards knighted for ſome good ſervices. However, as a peace was concluded ſoon after betwixt the two Crowns, and his eſtate was not ſufficient to maintain his Title with dignity, he went into Italy with ſome Engliſh forces to advance his fortune. There he ſerved firſt, with good ſucceſs, under John, Marquis of Montferrat; next, under Galeazzo, Duke of Milan, at the ſollicitation of Bernabo, the Duke's brother; with whom he was in ſuch eſteem for his ſucceſsful valour, that he gave him Domitia, his Daughter, in marriage, with a dower ſuitable to her birth. This alliance ſpread his fame far and near, chiefly throughout Italy: yet either upon further hopes, or ſome diſguſt, he quitted the ſervice of his father-in-law, and went over to the enemy. Afterwards he went to Rome, where the Pope made him commander in chief of his forces in an expedition for the recovery of part of Provence, which had revolted from him. When he had effected this, he entered into the pay of the Florentines, whom he ſerved ſo ſucceſsfully, that he was looked upon as the beſt ſoldier of that age. He died at Florence in a very advanced age, Anno 1394, and in the 18th of Richard II. The Florentines, to perpetuate the memory of his great exploits, and faithful ſervice to their ſtate, honoured him with a Statue and a ſumptuous Monument. His friends alſo raiſed him one of Stone at Sibble Henningham, arched over with a repreſentation of Hawks flying in a wood, in alluſion to his name. But it is now utterly deſtroyed by time. He had a Son named John, born in Italy who was Knighted, and naturalized in the reign of Henry IV.

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with which they were threatned from that quarter, they not only put their Militia in good order, but raiſed a large ſum of money; and when Carlo had advanced as far as Arezzo, they made him a preſent of forty thouſand Ducats, upon a promiſe that he would not moleſt them. He accordingly proceeded in his march to invade the territories of Queen Giovanna, and having made himſelf maſter of the Kingdom of Naples, he ſent her priſoner into Hungary. But this ſucceſs alarmed the governors of Florence ſtill more, who could not flatter themſelves that the new King would have a greater regard to their bribe, than the alliance which had always ſubſiſted betwixt his family and the faction of the Guelphs, whom they had ſo grievouſly oppreſſed.

Theſe ſuſpicions growing ſtronger and ſtronger every day, made them behave with more rigour to the other party: a manner of proceeding that only ſerved to multiply their diſcontents, and to increaſe, inſtead of allaying their own fears, which were not a little heightened by the inſolence of Georgio Scali and Tomaſo Strozzi, whoſe authority was much ſuperior to that of the Magiſtrates; and therefore they all ſtood in great awe of thoſe two Citizens, as they knew it was in their power, if they ſhould join the Plebeians, to turn them entirely out of the adminiſtration. This intemperate and tyrannical manner of governing began to grow intolerable, not only to all good Citizens, but even to the ſeditious themſelves; and it was not poſſible that the arrogance of Georgio Scali in particular could be long ſupported. It happened accordingly ſoon after, that ſome of his informers accuſed one Giovanni di Cambio of conſpiring againſt the State: but as he was found innocent of the crime that was laid to his charge, the Magiſtrate, who was then the Captain of the people, adjudged that the accuſer ſhould ſuffer the ſame puniſhment that would have been inflicted upon Cambio if he had been proved guilty. Georgio therefore perceiving that all his authority and interceſſions for

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him were in vain, went together with Tomaſo Strozzi at the head of a Mob which they had raiſed, and having reſcued him by force, they plundered the Captain's Palace and obliged him to hide himſelf for fear of being murdered. This outrage ſo highly diſguſted the whole city, that his enemies thought they had now a fair opportunity not only of wreaking their own private revenge upon him, but of delivering the Commonwealth out of his hands and the hands of the Plebeians, who had ſo unmercifully tyrannized over it for the ſpace of three years. And this deſign was not a little promoted by the Captain's behaviour, who went directly to the Signiory as ſoon as the tumult was over, and told them, "that, as they had done him the honour to confer that office upon him, he had accepted it with pleaſure, upon a preſumption that he was to ſerve good and virtuous men, and who would have taken arms, if neceſſary, to favour the courſe of juſtice, and not to obſtruct it. But ſince he had ſeen enough of their manner of governing the city and behaving themſelves, that poſt which he had ſo chearfully accepted in hopes of advancing his own fortune and reputation as well as ſerving the Commonwealth, he ſhould much more chearfully reſign, to avoid further danger and ſave himſelf from utter ruin." Upon this, ſome of the Signiory, after they had perſuaded the Captain to continue in his office, by giving him fair words and promiſing they would take care that he ſhould not only be indemnified for the loſs he had already ſuſtained, but that he ſhould live in ſecurity for the future, immediately entered into a conſultation with ſuch of the Citizens as they thought wiſhed well to their country and were the leaſt ſuſpected of diſaffection; in which it was concluded that now or never would be the time to deliver the city from the yoke of Scali and the Plebeian faction, as he had alienated the affections of the generality by this laſt enormity. They reſolved therefore to make uſe of the opportunity before the paſſions of the people ſubſided, well know-

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ing that the favour of the multitude is ſoon loſt and as ſoon regained by any little accidental circumſtance. And to conduct the affair to a happy iſſue, they thought it abſolutely neceſſary to draw Benedetto Alberti into a concurrence with their deſign, without whoſe aſſiſtance the undertaking ſeemed too raſh and dangerous.

Benedetto, tho' a man of immenſe fortune, was yet very humane, ſtrict in his morals and principles, a ſteady friend to the liberties of his country, and ſufficiently diſguſted at the tyrannical proceedings of the government: ſo that it was no difficult matter to engage him in any meaſures that might contribute to the downfall of Scali. For as the inſolence and oppreſſion of the principal Commoners and the Guelph faction had made him their enemy and a friend to the Plebeians: ſo, when he ſaw the latter purſuing the very ſame meaſures, he quickly detached himſelf from them, and had not the leaſt hand in any of the late injuries and violences that had been offered to his fellow Citizens; the ſame motives, that at firſt inclined him to take part with the Plebeians, afterwards determining him to leave them. Having thus brought Benedetto and the Heads of the Arts into their deſign, they ſeized upon Georgio Scali; but Tomaſo Strozzi made his eſcape. The very next day he was beheaded, which ſtruck ſuch a terror into his party, that not ſo much as one of them offered to ſtir in his favour, though they crowded in great numbers to ſee his execution. When he came to ſuffer death in the face of that very people which had ſo lately worſhipped him with a degree of idolatry, he could not help complaining of the hardneſs of his deſtiny and the wickedneſs of thoſe Citizens, who, by their oppreſſions, had forced him to court and careſs a Rabble in which he found there was neither honour nor gratitude. And ſeeing Benedetto Alberti at the head of the guards that ſurrounded the ſcaffold, he turned himſelf towards him and ſaid, "Can you too, Benedetto, ſtand tamely by, and ſee

me murdered in this vile manner? I aſſure you, if you was in my circumſtances, and I in yours, I would not ſuffer you to be treated ſo: but, remember that I tell you, this is the laſt day of my misfortunes, and the firſt of yours." He then bewailed his own folly in having truſted to the fidelity of the Plebeians, which he might well have known is ever liable to be ſhaken and ſeduced by any little ſuſpicion, miſrepreſentation, or blaſt of envy. With theſe lamentations he ended his life in the midſt of his enemies to their great exultation: after which, ſome of his chief Confidants were alſo put to death and their bodies dragged through the ſtreets by the people.

His death threw the whole city into a ferment: for, during the execution, many of the Citizens had taken arms in favour of the Signiory and Captain of the people; and many others to gratify their own revenge or private ends. And as the city was full of different humours, almoſt every one had a ſeparate view, and was eager to accompliſh it before he laid down his arms. The ancient Nobility, now called Grandees, could not bear to live any longer without ſome ſhare in the public honours, and exerted their utmoſt efforts to recover them: for which purpoſe, they endeavoured to have the Captains of the Arts reſtored to their former authority. The Heads of the popular faction and the greater Arts were diſguſted that the government of the ſtate was ſhared in common with them by the inferior Arts and Plebeians: the inferior Arts, inſtead of giving up any part of their authority, were very deſirous to increaſe it: and the Plebeians were afraid of having their new Companies diſſolved. From theſe different views and apprehenſions it came to paſs, that there was nothing to be ſeen in Florence but tumults for the ſpace of a whole year: for ſometimes the Grandees, ſometimes the greater, ſometimes the leſs Arts, and ſometimes the Plebeians were in an uproar; and it often happened that they all took arms at the ſame time in different par-

parts of the city. So that there were frequent ſkirmiſhes and frays betwixt them and the guards of the Palace: for the Signiory ſometimes by oppoſing, and ſometimes by giving way to them, endeavoured by all poſſible means to find ſome remedy for ſuch diſtractions. At laſt however, after two Conferences had been held, and two Balias inſtituted for the reformation of the city, after many miſchiefs and more dangers and troubles, a form of government was eſtabliſhed for the future; by which it was provided, that all ſuch ſhould be recalled as had been baniſhed ſince Sylveſtro de' Medici was Gonfalonier. That all offices and appointments which had been conferred by the Balia of 1378 ſhould be aboliſhed: That the two new Companies ſhould be diſſolved, and their individuals reincorporated into their reſpective Arts: That the inferior Arts ſhould not chuſe any Gonfalonier di Giuſtizia: That inſtead of enjoying one half of the public honours, they ſhould now be limited to one third, and thoſe too of the lower rank. So that the Popular Nobility and the Guelphs reaſſumed their ſuperiority in the Government of the State; and the Plebeians were utterly diſpoſſeſſed of it, after they had held it from the year 1378 till 1381, at which time this revolution happened. 1378 1381

The new adminiſtration however was no leſs grievous and oppreſſive to the Citizens at firſt than that of the Plebeians had been: for ſeveral of the Popular Nobility, who had ſhewn themſelves the forwardeſt in ſupporting the people, and many of the Heads of the Plebeians were baniſhed: amongſt the reſt was Michael di Lando, whom neither the remembrance of his former great merit and authority in reſtraining the fury of the populace when they were ſo licentiouſly plundering the city, nor any other conſideration, was ſufficient to protect from the reſentment of the governing party. Such was the gratitude of his countrymen for his former ſervices! and from this impolitic manner of proceeding in Princes and Governors of Commonwealths, it happens that men na-

turally growing diſguſted at their ill-timed ſeverity and ingratitude, often incur their diſpleaſure before they are aware of it. Accordingly, as ſuch executions and baniſhments had ever been diſapproved of by Benedetto Alberti, he could not help blaming the authors of thoſe that had lately happened, both in public and in private company. Upon which the government began to grow ſuſpicious of him as a favourer of the Plebeian party, and one that had conſented to the death of Georgio Scali, not out of any real diſapprobation of his conduct, but that he might the more eaſily get the reins of government into his own hands. His daily converſation and behaviour increaſed their ſuſpicions to ſuch a degree, that they kept a ſtrict watch over him, and reſolved to take the firſt opportunity of ruining him.

Whilſt they lived in this manner at home, they did not ſuffer much from abroad, though indeed they were not altogether without their alarms. For about this time Lewis of Anjou came into Italy with an army to drive Carlo Durazzo out of the Kingdom of Naples and to reinſtate Queen Giovanna. His arrival threw the Florentines into no little perplexity: for Carlo as their old friend and Ally demanded their aſſiſtance; whilſt Lewis on the other hand, inſiſted upon their ſtanding neutral if they expected any future favour or good offices from him. That they might ſeem willing therefore to oblige Lewis, they diſcharged Sir John Hawkwood from their ſervice: and at the ſame time, to aſſiſt Carlo, they prevailed upon his Ally Pope Urban to take that commander into his pay. This double dealing was exceedingly reſented by Lewis, who eaſily ſaw through it: ſo that when freſh ſuccours arrived in Tuſcany from France, to enable him to carry on the war againſt Carlo in Puglia, he joined the exiles from Arezzo, and having forced his way into that town by their aſſiſtance, he drove out the governing party there which adhered to Carlo. He likewiſe determined to have changed the government of Florence, but was prevented by death, which

which gave a new turn to affairs in Puglia and Tuſcany; for Carlo then firmly eſtabliſhed himſelf in a Kingdom which he had in a manner given up for loſt: and the Florentines, who were ſomething dubious, whether they ſhould be able to defend their own city, reſolved to make themſelves maſters of Arezzo, which they bought of the garriſon that Lewis had left in poſſeſſion of it. After Carlo had thoroughly ſettled himſelf in Puglia, he left his wife there with his two children, Ladiſlaus and Giovanna (as we have elſewhere related) and went to take poſſeſſion of Hungary, which Kingdom had devolved to him by right of inheritance, but died there ſoon after he was crowned.

Greater rejoycings never were ſeen in any city, even for a victory of their own, than there were in Florence, both in public and in private, upon this acquiſition; many families keeping open houſes, and vying with the public in the pomp and extravagance of their entertainments. But none of them were to be compared to thoſe made by the family of the Alberti, the ſplendor and magnificence of which were ſo far above the condition of any private perſon, that they would have done honour to a Prince. This oſtentation excited much envy amongſt their fellow Citizens, which, added to the ſuſpicion that the government had already conceived of Benedetto, at laſt proved his ruin: for they could not quiet their apprehenſions, whilſt they thought he was taking theſe ſteps to reconcile the Plebeians to him, in order to drive them out of the city whenever he thought proper.

Whilſt they were indulging theſe jealouſies, it happened, that he was drawn Gonfalonier of the Companies, and his Son-in-law Philippo Magalotti, Gonfalonier of juſtice at the ſame time; an accident that redoubled the fears of thoſe in the adminiſtration, who thought Benedetto had now much more power than was conſiſtent with the ſafety of the ſtate: and as they were deſirous to find ſome means of averting

the danger they apprehended themſelves in, without noiſe or tumult if poſſible, they ſecretly encouraged Beſe Magalotti, his enemy and competitor, to repreſent to the Signiory, that Philippo not being ſo old as the Law required in the perſon that filled that office, neither ought nor could be admitted to it. Upon this, the affair was brought before the Signiors, part of whom out of hatred, and the reſt for the ſake of peace and quietneſs, adjudged him unqualified to hold that dignity: after which, Bardo Mancini was drawn in his room, a bitter enemy to the Plebeian faction, and no leſs inveterate againſt Benedetto. No ſooner was this man in poſſeſſion of his office, but he called a Balia for the reformation of the State; by the authority of which, Benedetto was ſent into exile, and all the reſt of his family admoniſhed, except Antonio. Before his departure he called all his friends together, and ſeeing them very ſorrowful and dejected, he took his leave of them in this manner:

"You ſee, my dear friends and fellow Citizens, in what manner fortune has contrived my ruin, and how ſhe ſtill threatens you: at which, neither you nor I ought to be at all ſurprized, ſince it is almoſt always the Lot of thoſe who endeavour to maintain their integrity, in wicked and corrupt times, and to ſupport that which the generality are deſirous to pull down. The love of my Country firſt induced me to join with Sylveſtro de' Medici; and afterwards to ſeparate myſelf from Georgio Scali. From the ſame principle I could not forbear cenſuring the proceedings of thoſe that are now at the Helm, who, having nobody to chaſtiſe them, are likewiſe deſirous to get rid of every one that dares to reprehend them. I cheerfully ſubmit to baniſhment, if I am doomed to it, only to free them from the awe they ſtand in of me, and not of me only, but of every one, who, they are conſcious, has an eye upon their tyrannical and licentious proceedings. On my own account I am not much concerned; for that reputation with which I was honoured whilſt my Country was free, can-

cannot be taken away from me now it is enſlaved; and the review of my paſt life will always afford me more ſatisfaction, than the diſgrace of my exile can give me regret. It fills we with concern, I confeſs, to leave my Country a prey to the avarice and oppreſſion of a few particular men. It grieves me, when I reflect, that this day, which puts an end to my misfortunes, in all probability will give birth to yours, and that the malevolence of fortune may fall ſtill more heavy upon you than it has done upon me. Let me exhort you however, not to deſpair, but to bear up againſt her frowns, and to behave yourſelves in ſuch a manner, that whenever you fall into adverſity, which you may daily expect from the preſent ſituation of things, the world may bear witneſs that it is not owing to any demerit of your own." After his departure, he ſtill kept up the ſame reputation of piety and goodneſs abroad, that he had ever maintained at home; and going to viſit the Holy Sepulchre, he died in his return at Rhodes. His bones were brought back to Florence and interred there with the higheſt honours, by thoſe very people who had perſecuted him whilſt alive with ſo much rancour and injuſtice.

The family of the Alberti were not the only ſufferers in theſe diſtractions, for many other Citizens were either admoniſhed, or ſent into exile: amongſt thoſe that were baniſhed were Pietro Benini, Matteo Alderotti, Giovanni and Franciſco del Bene, Giovanni Benci, and Andrea Adimari, beſides a great number of the lower ſort of people: amongſt thoſe that were admoniſhed, were the Covoni, the Benini, the Rinucci, the Formiconi, the Corbizi, the Mannelli, and the Alderotti. It always had been the cuſtom to empower the Balia to ſit for a certain determinate time; but the Citizens, who were members of this, having done what they were deputed for to the ſatiſfaction of the State, were going to break up before the expiration of that term, as they thought it would have an appearance of modeſty and diſintereſtedneſs.

But the people hearing of their resolution, ran in arms to the Palace, and insisted that they should banish and admonish several others before they resigned their authority: at which, the Signiory were exceedingly offended, though they thought proper to amuse the people with fair words and promises, till such time as they had got their guards together, and were strong enough to make them lay down their arms by force. However, to give them some sort of satisfaction, and to diminish the authority of the Plebeians still more, they made a Decree, by which the third part of the public honours which they before enjoyed, should now be reduced to a fourth. And that there might be always two at least in the Signiory of approved fidelity to the government, they gave the Gonfalonier di Giustizia, and four other Citizens, authority to make a fresh Imborsation, and to put the names of a select number of Citizens into a particular purse, out of which two of every new Signiory should always be drawn.

1381. Every thing being thus settled in 1381, after a series of troubles and convulsions, which had lasted six years, the Florentines enjoyed tranquillity at home till the year 1387: at which time, Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti, commonly called the Conte di Virtu, imprisoned his Uncle Bernabo, and thereby became sole Lord of all Lombardy. This Conte di Virtu thought he could have made himself King of Italy by force of arms, as he had made himself Duke of Milan, by treachery: for which purpose, he began so vigorous a war upon the Florentines, in the year 1390,
1390 and conducted it in such a manner, that he would certainly have ruined them, if he had not died soon after. However, they made a courageous and indeed a wonderful defence, considering their State was a Republic *; and the conclusion of the war was not

* What other advantages soever the advocates for a republican form of government may alledge in its favour, when compared with monarchical power, it is certain that the former cannot exert itself with the same vigour as the latter, especially in time of war. And the

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ſo fatal as the fury with which it was conducted ſeemed to threaten. For after the Duke had taken Bologna, Piſa, Perugia, and Siena, and was making preparations to be crowned King of Italy at Florence, he was prevented by ſudden death from enjoying the fruit of his victories, and the Florentines delivered from the calamities, which otherwiſe muſt have fallen upon them.

During the time of this war with the Duke, the office of Gonfalonier di Giuſtizia was fallen into the hands of Maſo degli Albizi, whom the remembrance of Pietro's unfortunate end had made a bitter enemy to the Alberti, though Benedetto was now dead. And as the animoſities of the Factions were not yet extinguiſhed, he reſolved to be revenged on the reſt of that family before he went out of office. For which purpoſe, he availed himſelf of a depoſition, that had been made by a certain perſon who was accuſed of holding a ſecret correſpondence with the exiles, in which Alberto and Andrea degli Alberti were named as his accomplices, and immediately taken into cuſtody. Upon this, the whole city was in ſuch an uproar, that the Signiory having ſufficiently provided for their own defence, called the people to a con-

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more any governments have of democracy in their conſtitution, the weaker they generally are in that reſpect Their deliberations are ſlow, their councils divided, and the reſult of them too public. Beſides which, they are ſo ſubject to tumults and faction and civil diſſenſion, that they muſt of neceſſity be more feeble and tardy, either in defending themſelves, or annoying the enemy. They have often been ſo ſenſible of theſe inconveniencies, upon ſuch occaſions, that they have been forced to create Dictators, Stadtholders, &c. and put themſelves under the government of one ſingle Prince, or other perſon veſted with abſolute power and authority for a certain ſtated time, as the only means to cloſe the wounds of faction, and to give more life and vigour to the State. A prince is to the community what the ſpirit and ſoul are to the body.

Spiritus intus alit, totamque infuſa per artus
Mens agitat molem, & magno ſe corpore miſcet.
Virg. Æn. VI. 726.

One common Soul
Inſpires and feeds and animates the whole.
This active mind infuſed thro' all the ſpace,
Unites and mingles with the mighty maſs. Dryden.

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ference, appointed a new Balia, (by the authority of which many Citizens were baniſhed) and cauſed a freſh imborſation of Magiſtrates to be made. Amongſt thoſe that they baniſhed were almoſt all the Alberti; beſides which many of the Artificers were either admoniſhed or put to death. This tyrannical manner of proceeding ſo enraged the Arts and the lower ſort of people, who now ſaw their lives and honours ſo wantonly taken away, that they roſe in arms, ſome of them running to the Piazza before the Palace, and others to the houſe of Veri de' Medici, who after the death of Sylveſtro was become the Head of that family. In order to ſooth thoſe that were in the Piazza, the Signiory ſent Rinaldo Gianfigliazzi and Donato Acciaivoli (two Commoners that were more acceptable to the Plebeians than any others) with the colours of the Guelph faction and thoſe of the people in their hands. The other party that had repaired to the houſe of Veri de' Medici earneſtly intreated him to take the government into his hands, and deliver them from the oppreſſion of thoſe Citizens who were daily endeavouring to deſtroy the Commonwealth and every good man in it.

Medici

All writers that have left any memoirs of the tranſactions of thoſe times, unanimouſly agree, that if Veri had been as ambitious as he was virtuous, he then might eaſily have made himſelf abſolute Lord of the City: for the violence and grievous injuries that were indiſcriminately offered both to the good and bad, had provoked the Arts, and all thoſe that favoured them, to ſuch a degree, that they only wanted ſomebody to lead them on to ſatiate their revenge. Amongſt ſeveral others that adviſed him to take the ſole government of the Republic into his hands, Antonio de' Medici was the moſt importunate, though they had been long at open enmity together: but Veri, inſtead of paying any regard to him, only ſaid, "that as he had always deſpiſed his threats, whilſt he was his profeſſed enemy, ſo he would not be ruined by his counſel now he pretended to be his friend;" and

Medici

and turning to the multitude, he exhorted them not to despair, for he would secure them, if they would follow his advice. After which, he advanced in the midst of them to the Piazza, and from thence, went by himself into the Palace, where he told the Signiory, "he was far from being sorry, that his manner of life had been such as to procure him the love of his fellow Citizens; but he could not help being concerned, that they had formed an opinion of him, which he trusted his conversation had not at all deserved: for as he had never shewn the least sign of an ambitious or turbulent disposition, he could not imagine what induced them to think he would either favour sedition, or entertain any design of usurping the government. That he prayed their Lordships, however, that the error and ignorance of the multitude might not be imputed as a crime to him, since he had delivered himself up into their hands as soon as it was possible. That he exhorted them to use their power with moderation; and for the preservation of the City, to be content with the superiority they had already obtained, rather than endeavour to make their victory complete by its utter ruin."

The Signiory having highly commended Veri's behaviour, desired him to make the people lay down their arms, and then they would comply with any thing whatsoever that he and the other Citizens should advise. Upon this, he returned into the Piazza, and having called together his followers, and those that were under the Colours of Rinaldo and Donato, he told them all, that he found the Signiory very well disposed to give them any manner of satisfaction: that many things had been already granted, but that the shortness of the time, and the absence of some magistrates, had prevented their being put in Execution. That in the mean time, he conjured them to lay down their arms, out of reverence to the Signiory; assuring them, that instead of menaces and insults, obedience and a respectful behaviour were more likely to prevail upon the government to gratify their re-

requeſts: and that if they would follow his directions, both their liberties and honours ſhould be ſecured to them. Upon theſe aſſurances and a reliance on Veri's word, they all returned to their own houſes.

As ſoon as this tumult was compoſed, the Signiory, in the firſt place began to fortify the Piazza, and then immediately inrolled two thouſand Citizens, well affected to the government, whom they divided into Companies, with orders, to be ready to aſſiſt them whenever they ſhould be called upon; ſtrictly prohibiting all others at the ſame time, from bearing arms upon any occaſion whatſoever. After they had taken theſe ſteps to ſecure themſelves, they put many of the Artificers to death, and baniſhed others that had been the moſt active and clamorous in the late inſurrection. And that the Gonfalonier della Giuſtizia might have the more reverence ſhewn him, they ordained, that no one ſhould be capable of being admitted to that dignity, before he was five and forty years of age. They likewiſe made ſeveral other proviſions to ſtrengthen their hands, which were not only intolerable to thoſe againſt whom they were particularly deſigned, but odious to all good Citizens of their own party; who could not help thinking that a bad adminiſtration, and built upon a ſandy bottom, which ſtood in need of ſo much ſeverity to ſupport it. Thoſe of the Alberti that were ſtill left in the City, and many others, particularly the Medici, who thought themſelves, as well as the people, abuſed and deceived, were extremely diſguſted at theſe proceedings; but the firſt that had courage enough to oppoſe them, was Donato, the ſon of Jacopo Acciaivoli. This Donato, though he was one of the Grandees of the City, and rather ſuperior than equal to Maſo degli Albizi (who by the ſteps he had taken whilſt he was Gonfalonier, was become in a manner the Head of the Commonwealth) could not live quietly himſelf in a city where ſo many were diſcontented; and diſdained the common practice of making a private advantage of public miſfortunes. He therefore reſolved to

Medici.

uſe

uſe his intereſt, in the firſt place, that all ſuch as had been ſent into exile, might be recalled, at leaſt that thoſe who had been admoniſhed ſhould be requalified to hold their former honours and employments. For this purpoſe, he inſinuated firſt to one Citizen, and then to another, that there was no other expedient left to quiet the people, and allay the rage of faction; and that if he was one of the Signiory, he made no doubt, but he could bring the matter to bear. But as delay is irkſome in all things, and too much precipitation is commonly attended with danger; to avoid one extreme, he ran into the other. There were then in the Signiory Michael Acciaivoli, his near relation, and Niccolo Ricoveri, his intimate friend: and as he thought this was an opportunity not to be loſt, he entreated them to propoſe a Law to the Councils for the reſtoration of their fellow Citizens. At his perſuaſion, they accordingly moved it to the reſt of the Signiory, who were all of opinion, that it would be imprudent to attempt any change of Government in which the advantage would be doubtful, and the danger very great and certain. Donato, therefore, having firſt tried all means to no purpoſe, began to grow outrageous, and ſent them word, "That ſince they would not ſuffer the City to be reformed by other methods, it ſhould be done by force:" at which they were ſo incenſed, that after they had communicated the affair to thoſe that were in the adminiſtration, Donato was cited to appear before them, and being convicted of ſending that meſſage, by the Evidence of the perſon who carried it, he was baniſhed to Barletta. They likewiſe baniſhed Alamanno and Antonio de' Medici, and all thoſe that were of Alamanno's family, together with many of the inferior Arts, who had any intereſt amongſt the Plebeians. All theſe things happened within two years after Maſo degli Albizi had aſſumed the government.

Medici.

In this ſituation of affairs, whilſt many were diſcontented at home, and many impatient under their baniſh-

baniſhment abroad, there happened to be amongſt the Exiles at Bologna, Picchio Cavicciulli, Tomaſo de' Ricci, Antonio de' Medici, Benedetto degli Spini, Antonio de' Girolami, Chriſtofano di Carlone, and two others of much inferior condition; but all young and ſpirited men, and determined at all events to return to their Country: eſpecially as Piggello and Baroccio Cavicciulli, who were in the number of thoſe that had been admoniſhed in Florence, had found means to ſend them word, that if they could get ſecretly by night into the City, they would receive them into their houſes, from whence they might take ſome convenient opportunity of ſallying out and killing Maſo degli Albizi, and afterwards call the people to arms, who would be ready enough to riſe, as they were ſufficiently diſaffected to the Government, and ſure of being ſupported by the Ricci, Adimari, Medici, Mannelli, and many other conſiderable families. Fluſhed with theſe hopes, they privately entered the City at a place appointed, on the 4th of Auguſt 1397, and immediately ſet ſpies to watch the motions of Maſo; as they deſigned to begin the tumult by diſpatching him. Not long after, Maſo came out of his Houſe, and went to an Apothecary's, not far from the Church of St. Pietro Maggiore: upon which, the perſon that had been ſent to watch him, ran to acquaint the conſpirators, who immediatly took their ſwords and haſted to the Apothecary's, but found he was gone from thence. They were not diſcouraged, however, at this diſappointment, but turned aſide towards the Old Market Place, where they killed one of their enemies party, and proceeded towards the New Market, ſhouting, and calling upon the Citizens to arm for the recovery of their Liberties, and put the Tyrants to death. From thence they advanced towards a Street called the Calimara, at the end of which they killed another man: but ſeeing that nobody regarded their cries, nor offered to take arms and join them, they retired into the Loggia Nighittoſa, from the garrets of which they again called out to

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to a great mob (which by this time was got round them, more out of curiosity than with a design to give them any assistance) conjuring them to take arms, and shake off so detestable a Yoke; and assuring them, "that the groans of their fellow Citizens had moved them more than any private injuries which they had sustained themselves, and were the only occasion of their making that attempt to rescue them out of slavery: that they had often heard that many of them were continually wishing for some opportunity of revenging themselves, and were determined to do it whenever they could get any body to head them. But now that opportunity was come, and they had leaders to conduct them, they stood gazing upon each other, till they would see the assertors of their Liberties massacred, and their oppressions redoubled. That they were astonished to see those who formerly used to take arms upon any little grievance, now crouching under so intolerable a burden, and tamely submitting to have so many of their fellow Citizens admonished, and so many sent into exile, when it was in their own power both to restore the Exiles to their Country, and those that had been admonished, to their former honours." These exhortations and reproaches, stinging as they were, had yet no effect upon the people, who either durst not stir out of the awe they stood in to the Government, or would not, out of the prejudice they had conceived against the Exiles from the death of those two Citizens, whom they had killed. So that when these Ringleaders of the tumult perceived that neither their words nor actions made any impression upon the multitude, they were at last convinced, when it was too late, how dangerous a thing it is to attempt the deliverance of a people who are willing to continue in slavery: and despairing of success, they shut themselves up in the Church of St. Reparata, not with any hopes of saving their lives, but of deferring their death for a little while.

Upon

Upon the firſt rumour of this tumult, the Signiory had armed themſelves, and fortified their palace; but when they heard the event, who they were that had been the occaſion of it, and whither they had retired, they recovered their ſpirits, and ordered an officer to take a party of the guards with him, and ſeize them. The doors of the Church were eaſily forced, but the others defended themſelves ſo reſolutely, that many of them were killed: the reſt being taken and examined, it did not appear that any other of the Citizens had been privy to the Conſpiracy, except Baroccio and Piggello Cavicciulli, whom they put to death with their accomplices.

This conſpiracy was hardly quaſhed, when another and more dangerous one was diſcovered. The Florentines, as we have ſaid before, were then at war with the Duke of Milan; who not being able to conquer them by dint of arms, had recourſe to other methods; and having engaged many of the Citizens in his deſign, by means of the Exiles, (of whom there were numbers all over Lombardy) it was agreed amongſt them, that upon a certain day appointed for that purpoſe, all the Exiles who lived neareſt to Florence, and were able to bear arms, ſhould advance towards the City, and endeavour to force their way into it by the channel of the Arno. In which attempt, if they ſucceeded, they were to be joined by their friends in the City, and then proceed to the houſes of the chief governors, whom they had determined to put to death, and afterwards to reform the State as they thought proper. Amongſt the Citizens within the walls, that were concerned in the conſpiracy, was Samminiato de' Ricci; and as it often happens in ſuch undertakings, that a few perſons are not ſufficient to put them in execution, and it is dangerous to truſt a great number, whilſt he was endeavouring to engage as many in it as he could, he unluckily met with one that betrayed him. For having communicated the affair to Sylveſtro Cavicciulli, whom he thought the remembrance of his Kinſman's death, and the ſuffer-

ings

ings of his family, would inſpire with a thirſt of revenge, he proved to be miſtaken in his man: for Sylveſtro being moved by fear more than any other conſideration, immediately went and informed the Signiory of it, who ordered Samminiato to be taken into Cuſtody, where he confeſſed himſelf guilty, and acquainted them with every particular circumſtance of the deſign. None of the other Conſpirators, however, were taken, except Tomaſo Davizi, who coming from Bologna towards Florence, without knowing what had happened there, was arreſted upon the road: all the reſt, when they heard what had befallen Samminiato, were ſo terrified, that they fled out of the City.

Samminiato and Tomaſo being puniſhed according to the nature of their crimes, a new Balia was inſtituted, conſiſting of many Citizens, with authority to proceed againſt Delinquents, and to provide for the Safety of the Commonwealth. By this Council, ſix of the family of the Ricci, ſix of the Alberti, two of the Medici, three of the Scali, two of the Strozzi, Bindo Altoviti, Bernardo Adimari, and many others of lower condition, were proclaimed Rebels. All the reſt of the Alberti, Ricci, and Medici, except ſome very few, were rendered incapable of holding any office for the ſpace of ten years. Medici,

Amongſt thoſe of the Alberti that were not admoniſhed, was Meſſer Antonio, whom they ſpared, as a man of a very quiet and peaceable diſpoſition. But, before the Signiory had thoroughly got over the apprehenſion they had been in from the late danger, a prieſt was taken up, who had often been ſeen to go backwards and forwards betwixt Florence and Bologna, whilſt the conſpiracy was upon the anvil: and upon examination, he confeſſed that he had ſeveral times brought letters for Meſſer Antonio. Upon which, he was immediately taken into cuſtody; and though he poſitively denied it at firſt, yet being convicted by the prieſt, he had a fine laid upon him, and was baniſhed to the diſtance of three hundred

miles from the city. And to free the government from the continual apprehenſions they had lived under, from the practices of the Alberti, they baniſhed all of that family that were above fifteen years of age.
1400 Theſe things happened in the year 1400; and about two years after, Giovanni Galeazzo died, which, as we ſaid before, put an end to a war that had laſted ten years. After a reſpite of theſe two years from foreign troubles and domeſtick feuds, the government having drawn a little breath, and in ſome meaſure recovered its ſtrength, it was reſolved to attempt the reduction of Piſa; in which enterprize they ſucceeded, and not only gained great reputation abroad,
1433 but continued quiet at home, till the year 1433, ex-
1412 cept that in the year 1412, ſome of the Alberti having returned from baniſhment, another Balia was appointed, which made new laws for the ſecurity of the State, and inflicted other penalties upon that family. During this period, the Florentines likewiſe engaged in a war with Ladiſlaus, King of Naples,
1414 which ended in the Year 1414, upon the death of that Prince, who finding himſelf not able to cope with their forces, was obliged to cede Cortona to them, a City which had been ſome time in his hands. But afterwards gathering freſh ſtrength, he renewed the war with much more vigour: and if he had not been prevented by death (as the Duke of Milan was likewiſe in his deſigns) he certainly would have reduced them to great diſtreſs, and perhaps as much danger of loſing their liberties, as ever they were in from that Duke. So that their eſcape was no leſs remarkable at the end of this war, than at the concluſion of the other; for after the King had taken Rome, Siena, all la Marca d'Ancona, and Romagna, he had no impediment left but Florence, to obſtruct his progreſs with all his forces into Lombardy, he ſuddenly died. In this manner, the death of others was more than once of greater Service to the Florentines, than any Friend, or Valour of their own.

After

After the deceaſe of this Prince, the State continued in tranquillity both at home and abroad for the ſpace of eight years, at the end of which, the wars that enſued with Philip, Duke of Milan, revived the ſpirit of domeſtic faction, which never ſubſided again till the ſubverſion of that Adminiſtration, which had ruled the State from the year 1371 till 1434, main- 1434
tained many wars with great glory, and added the Cities of Arezzo, Piſa, Livorno or Leghorn, and Monte Pulciano, to their own Dominions; and would have done ſtill greater things if the City had continued united, and the rage of faction had not flamed out afreſh, as we ſhall more particularly relate in the next book.

END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

THE

HISTORY

OF

FLORENCE.

BOOK IV.

ARGUMENT.

The importance of one honeſt, wiſe, and powerful Citizen. The chief cauſe of changes in a Commonwealth. The family of Medici, having been depreſſed, at laſt, in ſome meaſure, recover their authority. Philip Viſconti, Duke of Milan, enters into a treaty with the Florentines; which he breaks, and ſeizes upon Furli and Imola, and defeats the Florentine army. Rinaldo degli Albizi endeavours to quiet the clamours of the people, and adviſes a continuation of the War. Uzzano's opinion. They try to bring over Giovanni de' Medici. His anſwer to Rinaldo. The factions of Uzzano and Medici. The remarkable courage and fidelity of Biagio del Melano. The perfidy and cowardice of Zanobi del Pino. Niccolo Piccinino, the Florentine General, goes over to the Duke of Milan. The Venetians enter into a League with the Florentines, and appoint Carmignuola their Commander in chief. A new taxation, called the Cataſto. The conſequences of it. How Carmignuola conducted the war in Lombardy. A peace concluded betwixt the Duke and the Allies. The conditions of it. The advice of Giovanni de' Medici to his two ſons, at his death. His character. Volterra

rebels against the Florentines; but is soon reduced to obedience. Rinaldo promotes a war with Lucca. Uzzano opposes it, but to no purpose. The cruelty of Astorre Gianni, the Florentine Commissary, to the Seravezzans, and their complaints of it. He is cashiered for it. Rinaldo, the other commissary, is likewise accused of misconduct. His speech to the Council of Ten. The project of Philip Brunelleschi, a celebrated Painter and Architect, to lay Lucca under water, is defeated. The tyrant of Lucca is deposed by the people. The Florentines are defeated by Piccinino, the Duke's General. A peace ensues between them and the Lucchese. Uzzano is persuaded by Niccolo Barbadori, to join him in endeavouring to drive Cosimo de' Medici out of the City. His answer. His death. Rinaldo becomes head of that faction. He garbles the Magistracy, and imprisons Cosimo. Malavolti's generous behaviour to him in prison. Cosimo is banished. Rinaldo's advice to his party is neglected. He, with many others, rise in arms to depose the Signiory; but lay them down again, at the mediation of Pope Eugenius IV. *The Signiory banish Rinaldo, and recall Cosimo.*

ALL Republics, especially such as are not well constituted, undergo frequent changes in their laws and manner of government. And this is not owing to the nature either of Liberty or Subjection in general, as many think, but to downright oppression on one hand, or unbridled licentiousness on the other. For the name of Liberty is often nothing more than a specious pretence, made use of both by the instruments of licentiousness, who, for the most part, are Commoners, and by the promoters of slavery, who generally are the Nobles, each side being equally impatient of restraint and controul. But when it fortunately happens, which indeed is very seldom, that some wise, good, and powerful Citizen, has sufficient authority in the Commonwealth, to make such laws as may extinguish all jealousies betwixt the Nobility and the People, or at least so to

moderate and restrain them, that they shall not be able to produce any bad effect; in such case, that State may properly be called free, and its constitution looked upon as firm and permanent. For, being once established upon good Laws and Institutions, it has no further occasion, like other States, for the virtue of any particular man to support it. On such laws and principles, many of those ancient Commonwealths, which so long subsisted, were formerly constituted: and for want of them, others have often varied, and still vary, their form of government from tyranny to licentiousness, and from licentiousness to tyranny. For as each of those states always has powerful enemies to contend with, it neither is, nor can be, possible they should be of any long duration. All good and wise men must of necessity be disgusted at them; since much evil may very easily be done in the former, and hardly any good in the latter: the insolent having too much authority in one, and the ignorant and unexperienced in the other; and both must be upheld by the spirit and fortune of one man alone, who yet may either be suddenly taken off by death or overpowered by adversity. I say therefore that the model of government which took place in Florence after the death of Georgio Scali in the year 1381, was at first solely maintained by the conduct of Maso degli Albizi, and afterwards by that of Niccolo Uzzano.

The city continued in tranquillity from the year
1414 1414 till 1422: for as King Ladislaus was now dead *, and Lombardy divided betwixt different masters, the Florentines had nothing to fear either at home or abroad. Those that had the greatest authority in it next to Niccolo da Uzzano, were Bar-

* He was poisoned at Perugia by a Physician's daughter of that city, of whom he was passionately enamoured. Her father having been bribed by the Florentines, to get him dispatched, prevailed upon her, to give him poison in a Philter, or love-potion. He was a brave and generous Prince; but his virtues were obscured by many vices. He died in 1414, and was succeeded by his sister Giovanna, or Joan. Collenucio. Hist. Neap. l. v.

tolomeo

tolomeo Valori, Nerone di Nigi, Rinaldo degli Albizi, Neri di Gino, Capponi, and Lapo Niccolini. The animosities however, which were at first kindled in the city by the quarrel betwixt the Albizi and the Ricci, and afterwards blown up to such a height by Sylvestro de' Medici, were not yet extinguished: and although that party which had the largest share in the affections of the people, continued only three years in the administration and was turned out of it in 1381, yet as they were favoured and supported by the greater part of the Citizens, they could not be totally suppressed. It is true, indeed, that frequent admonitions and the continual persecutions that were carried on against the Heads of it, from the year 1381 to 1400, had brought them very low. Those that suffered most by these proceedings were the Alberti and the Medici, several of whom had their estates confiscated, others were either banished or put to death, and those that were suffered to continue in the city, were deprived of all their honours and employments; by which their party was much depressed and almost reduced to nothing. They retained however a sharp resentment of the injuries they had received, and determined to take the first opportunity of revenge; which they thought proper to dissemble in these circumstances.

This administration, which was composed of the most considerable Commoners, or popular Nobility, and had kept the city so long in peace, at last was guilty of two errors in point of conduct which proved its ruin. For in the first place, they grew insolent and supine; and in the next, they began to quarrel amongst themselves, instead of taking proper care to guard against their enemies: so that whilst they were daily provoking their fellow Citizens by fresh oppressions, and become so jealous of each other, that they rather encouraged plots and cabals against their associates in the government, than used any means to defeat the revenge of those whom they seemed to despise, the Medici in a great measure recovered their for-

former power and authority. The firſt of this family that began to lift up his head again, was Giovanni the Son of Bicci de' Medici; who being a man of great goodneſs and humanity, and grown exceeding rich, was admitted to a ſhare in the government of the State: at which there was ſuch extraordinary rejoycings amongſt the people, that many of the graver ſort of the Citizens were not a little alarmed when they ſaw the old humours began to ſhew themſelves again. Upon this, Niccolo da Uzzano took the opportunity of repreſenting to his Collegues, how dangerous a thing it was to promote a man of ſo general a reputation to ſuch a degree of power: that it was an eaſy matter to get the better of ſome diſorders in the beginning of them, which afterwards would admit of no remedy: and that he knew Giovanni was a perſon of much greater influence and abilities than ever Sylveſtro had been. But theſe remonſtrances made little or no impreſſion upon the reſt of the Governors, who envied Niccolo's reputation, and were glad to avail themſelves of any aſſiſtance, which they thought might contribute to ruin him.

Giovanni de Medici. rich & humane

Whilſt theſe ſparks of diſcord were ſecretly rekindling in Florence, Philip Viſconti, the ſecond Son of Giovanni Galeazzo, becoming ſole Lord of all Lombardy by the death of his brother, had ſet his heart upon recovering the State of Genoa, which then lived free under the government of their Doge Tomaſo da Campo Fregoſo. But he was diffident of ſucceſs in this or any other enterpriſe except he could firſt engage the Florentines to enter into an Alliance with him; the credit of which he imagined would enable him to accompliſh his deſigns. With this view, he ſent Ambaſſadors to propoſe it to the Citizens of Florence; many of whom thought it better to continue upon the ſame amicable terms they had been with him for many years, than to enter into any particular treaty: as they plainly ſaw how much reputation he would acquire thereby, and how little ad-

advantage their own city was likely to reap from it. Others were of a different opinion, and voted for a treaty with him upon certain conditions; which if he did not obſerve, he would manifeſt his evil deſigns to the whole world, and juſtify them in making war upon him. After long debates, an agreement was at laſt concluded, in which Philip engaged not to interfere in any affairs on this ſide the Rivers * Magra and Panaro. But ſoon after this ſtipulation, he firſt ſeized upon Breſcia, and then upon Genoa, contrary to the expectation of thoſe in Florence that promoted the convention; who thought the Venetians would have protected Breſcia, and that Genoa was able to defend itſelf. And as Philip was to keep poſſeſſion of Serezana and ſome other towns on this ſide the Magra, by the capitulation made betwixt him and the Doge of Genoa, (on a promiſe that if ever he alienated them, the Genoeſe ſhould have the refuſal) he conſequently was guilty of infringing the articles of the Convention he had ſo lately made with the State of Florence. Beſides which, he had entered into another treaty with the Legate of Bologna.

Theſe proceedings alarmed the Florentines to ſuch a degree, that they thought it high time to provide ſome remedy, leſt worſe conſequences ſhould enſue. Upon which Philip, who was aware that he had rouzed their apprehenſions, immediately ſent Ambaſſadors to Florence, in order to juſtify himſelf and feel the pulſe of the Citizens; and at the ſame time,

* The former of theſe Rivers ariſes in the Parmeſan, and taking a ſouth-weſt courſe by Pontremoli, waters a Valley that is likewiſe called Magra, and at laſt falls into the Mediterranean a little below Sarzano. Lucan makes mention of it, Pharſal. l. ii. The Panaro riſing in the Apennine mountains on the confines of Tuſcany, runs northward into the Modeneſe, and divides that State from Romagna: then turning eaſt-ward it runs by Ferrara, through the Ferrareſe, and empties itſelf into the Gulph of Venice at Valona, where it is called the Podi Valona. As the ſources of theſe two Rivers are not far aſunder, and their ſtreams run different ways, they almoſt cut Italy in two, from the north-eaſt to the ſouth-weſt, and were therefore pitched upon, very likely, as proper boundaries betwixt the contending parties.

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if poſſible, to lull them into ſecurity, by repreſenting how much he was ſurprized at the unkind opinion, he heard, they had conceived of him; and that he was ready to cancel any thing he had done, which might give them the leaſt umbrage or ſuſpicion of his ſincerity. But this Embaſſy ſerved only to raiſe diſcord and diviſions in the city: as ſome of the moſt conſiderable of thoſe that were in the adminiſtration, thought it would be adviſeable to arm themſelves, and take proper meaſures to fruſtrate the deſigns of the enemy: for when ſuch preparations were made, Philip perhaps might think it his beſt way to remain quiet; and thus by preventing a war, the peace that ſubſiſted betwixt them might be eſtabliſhed upon a ſurer and more ſtable foundation. On the other hand, there were many who, either out of oppoſition to the government, or the dread of a war, alledged, "that it was unreaſonable and unjuſt to entertain ſuch ſuſpicions of an Ally upon ſo ſlight an occaſion; as he had not yet done any thing that could juſtify them in treating him after that manner: that raiſing forces and appointing officers, they muſt ſurely know, was the ſame as declaring war, which could not be carried on againſt ſo powerful a Prince without bringing inevitable ruin upon their city: that there was not the leaſt proſpect of any advantage which might accrue from it: for as Romagna lay betwixt their Dominions and thoſe of the Duke, they muſt not expect to remain in poſſeſſion of any conqueſts they ſhould make; nor could they hope to penetrate even into Romagna, when they conſidered that the forces of the Church were ſo near at hand." The former opinion, however, prevailed at laſt, and they accordingly appointed ten ſuperintendants of the war, raiſed ſoldiers, and impoſed new taxes upon the Citizens; which being laid heavier upon the poorer ſort of the people than the rich, occaſioned great murmurs in the city; every one exclaiming againſt the oppreſſion of their Governors, who had wantonly embroiled them in an expenſive and unneceſſary war, only

only to gratify their own private interests and ambition, and to establish themselves in their tyranny. They had not yet, indeed, proceeded to an open rupture with the Duke, but their suspicions grew stronger and stronger every day; especially as he had sent some troops to Bologna at the request of the Legate, who was under no little apprehensions from the practices of Antonio Bentivogli, one of the exiles in that city. These forces therefore lying so near the territories of Florence, gave the governors of that State great uneasiness: but what still increased it, and more fully discovered the Duke's design to commence hostilities against them, was his manner of proceeding at Furli.

Georgio Ordelaffi, Lord of Furli, died about that time, and left his Son Tibaldo to the care of Duke Philip. And though his widow, who looked upon such a Guardian with a very suspicious eye, had sent the Child to her father Ludovico Alidossi Lord of Imola, yet the people of Furli obliged her to comply with the will of her husband, and to put him into the Duke's hands again. Upon which, the better to avoid suspicion and disguise his own designs, he got the Marquis of Ferrara to send Guido Torelli as his Lieutenant, with a body of soldiers to seize upon Furli in his name; and in this manner that Town fell into the hands of Duke Philip. When this event and the arrival of his troops at Bologna came to be known in Florence, it fully determined the majority of the Governors to declare war, notwithstanding that resolution still met with great opposition, especially from Giovanni de' Medici, who publickly protested against it, and said, "that although they were sufficiently convinced of the Duke's designs, it would yet be more prudent to wait till he attacked them, than to be the aggressors: for otherwise the Duke might fairly justify all his subsequent proceedings to the other Princes of Italy; and for their own parts, they could not in that case expect such effectual assistance from them, as they might do when his ambitious and

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enterprising spirit came to be more generally known; since experience shewed that all States act with much more vigour when their own safety is concerned than in the defence and protection of others." To this it was replied, "that it would be much better to march boldly out and meet the enemy, than to stay till they were attacked by him at home: that fortune in general was more favourable to the Invader, than to those that are invaded: and though perhaps it might be more expensive, it certainly would prove less detrimental in the end, to carry the war into the territories of their enemy, than to have their own depopulated." This advice was approved of, and it was resolved, that the Ten should use their utmost efforts in the first place to wrest the City of Furli out of the Duke's hands again. But Philip seeing the Florentines so earnestly bent upon the recovery of a town which he was resolved to maintain, now thought it high time to throw off the mask, and immediately sent Agnolo della Pergola with a considerable force to Imola, to keep the Lord of that place so fully employed in the defence of his own State, that he should not be able to give his Grandson any assistance. Agnolo accordingly advanced almost to the walls of Imola, and finding the moats frozen over, (as it was then a very cold season) he took the town by surprize the same night, and sent Ludovico prisoner to Milan, though the Florentine army lay no further off at that time than Modigliana.

The Florentines, therefore, seeing Imola lost, and open war now publickly avowed, ordered their Commanders to go and lay siege to Furli; which they did, and invested it on every side: and, to prevent the Duke from sending all his forces to its relief they took Count Alberigo into their pay, who made daily excursions from Zagonara, a town in his possession, to the very walls of Imola. But Agnolo, who perceived our army was so advantageously posted, that it would be impossible to raise the siege of Furli, without running too great a risque, determined to sit down

down before Zagonara, rightly judging, that the Florentines would abandon their enterprize against Furli, and march to its succour; which must oblige them to fight him at a great disadvantage. In the mean time, Alberigo was reduced to such distress by the Duke's army, that he was forced to capitulate, and agreed to surrender, if the town was not relieved in the space of fifteen days. When this came to be known in the Florentine camp, and in the City, the eagerness which every one shewed to prevent that loss, was the occasion of their sustaining a much greater. For having raised their camp before Furli, to go to the relief of Zagonara, they came to an engagement with Agnolo, in which they were utterly routed; not so much by the valour of the enemy, as the badness of the weather: for our forces having marched several hours, through very deep and miry roads, and continual rain, found the enemy quite fresh, and in so good order, that, as it might well be expected, they were not able to stand before them, but soon fled and were dispersed. However, in so great a defeat, and which made so much noise all over Italy, there was nobody killed but Ludovico degli Obizi, and two of his men, who were thrown from their horses, and trampled to death in the mire.

The news of this misfortune occasioned great consternation in Florence, and particularly amongst those of the governing party, who had been the chief promoters of the war; as they saw the enemy now so powerful and elated, and themselves in a manner not only disarmed and without allies, but hated to the last degree by the people, who insulted them whenever they appeared in the streets; complaining of the insupportable taxes they had laid upon them, and upbraiding them with the heavy expences of an unnecessary war. "These are the men, said they, who appointed ten superintendants to strike a terror into the enemy! how bravely they wrested Furli out of the hands of the Duke! you now see, fellow-Citizens, the bottom of their hearts, and their villainous machinations!

chinations! these are the *Defenders of our Liberty* forsooth; a name that they inwardly hate, as their actions have fully shewn, which never tended to any other point than to establish and increase their own power, which God has now, most justly indeed, been pleased to humble. This is not the only time they have brought our city to the brink of ruin; the expedition against King Ladislaus, and many others of the same kind, might be instanced, if it was necessary. To whom will they now have recourse for assistance in their extremities? To Pope Martin, whom they so vilely abused, only to gratify Braccio da Montone? To Queen Giovanna, whom they basely abandoned, and obliged to throw herself into the hands of the King of Arragon?" With these and other such taunts as fury and despair commonly suggest to an enraged multitude, they pursued them wherever they went.

The Signiory, therefore, having called a meeting of the principal Citizens, earnestly exhorted them to use their good offices and endeavours to sooth the people, and to appease the general indignation which their clamours had excited. At this meeting, Rinaldo (eldest son to the late Maso degli Albizi) having secretly entertained some hopes of becoming sole governor of the Republic, by the merit of his own services, and the reputation of his father, made a long speech; in which he told them, "That it was neither generous, nor just, nor good policy, to form a judgment of such enterprizes from the event of them; for it happened sometimes, that the best laid designs miscarried, and the worst were crowned with success. That if bad measures were applauded, merely because they proved fortunate, it would give encouragement to rashness and presumption; which might one time or other be the destruction of the Commonwealth; as it did not always happen that they succeeded. That, on the other hand, it might be of great prejudice to vilify designs that were wisely planned, for no other reason than because they failed in the execution, since that would deter such as were most able, from giving their

their advice, and delivering their opinion, without reſerve, in any exigency." He then ſhewed the neceſſity of entering into this war, and that Tuſcany muſt have been the ſeat of it, if they had not carried their arms into Romagna: that although it was the will of God their forces ſhould be defeated, the loſs was not ſo great as it would be, if they abandoned themſelves to deſpair: that if they would exert themſelves as they ought to do, they would find no great reaſon to be ſo dejected at their overthrow, nor the Duke to triumph in his victory. That they might make themſelves eaſy about the taxes, which would not be ſo heavy by a great deal for the future, as they had been; ſince a defenſive war could not be attended with ſo much expence, as an offenſive one. He laſtly conjured them to imitate the noble example of their anceſtors, whoſe magnanimity even in the loweſt ebb of their fortune, had at all times ſupported the State againſt the moſt powerful enemies."

Upon theſe exhortations, enforced by the authority of ſo popular a man, the Citizens began to recover their ſpirits, and took Count Oddo, the Son of Braccio da Montone, into their pay, under the inſpection of Niccolò Piccinino, who had learnt the art of war from Braccio himſelf, and was eſteemed the beſt ſoldier that had ever fought under his banners: to whom they likewiſe joined ſeveral commanders of their own, and remounted ſuch of the cavalry as had loſt their horſes in the late defeat. They alſo gave a commiſſion to twenty of the Citizens, to raiſe further ſupplies for the maintenance of the war; who ſeeing the governing party now humbled by their misfortunes, took courage, and laid the chief burden of the tax upon their ſhoulders; at which they were not a little mortified in their turn. However, as they could not for ſhame remonſtrate againſt it as a particular hardſhip, they only complained of it in general, and ſaid, it was too heavy, and ought in ſome meaſure to be remitted. But when this came to the ears of the council, they took effectual care to prevent it; and in

in order to make all impoſitions appear the more grievous and hateful to the people for the future, they gave a ſtrict charge to their officers to collect this with the utmoſt rigour, and to kill any one that ſhould dare to oppoſe them, or refuſe to pay it. In conſequence of theſe orders, ſo many were either murdered or grievouſly wounded, that it was apprehended the two parties would come to blows, and that much miſchief would enſue: for thoſe who had been ſo long in power, and uſed to be treated with ſuch reverence and diſtinction, could not bear the thoughts of being inſulted in this manner; and the other ſide were reſolved, that every man in his turn ſhould equally feel the ſting of theſe oppreſſions.

Certain of the principal Citizens, therefore, had a private conference, in which they determined to reſume their former authority, and to ſupport it with more vigour for the future; ſeeing their remiſſneſs had emboldened private men to cavil at their conduct, and given freſh courage to thoſe who were wont, upon every occaſion, to put themſelves at the head of the populace. After many of theſe meetings, and much conſultation, they agreed to have a more general one in St. Stephen's Church; where they accordingly aſſembled, to the number of ſeventy, by the permiſſion of Lorenzo Ridolphi and Franciſco Gianfigliazzi, who were then in the Signiory. But Giovanni de' Medici was not there; either becauſe he had not been invited, as a perſon in whom they could not thoroughly confide, or refuſed to come, becauſe he did not approve of ſuch cabals. When they were all met, Rinaldo degli Albizi took the chair, and repreſented to them, in a pathetic manner, the preſent circumſtances of the City, and how the government of it, by their too great ſecurity and inadvertence, had again fallen into the hands of the people, from whom their fathers had recovered it in the year 1381. He reminded them of the tyranny of thoſe that were in the adminiſtration from 1377, till that time; in which interval, either the Father, or Grandfather, or ſome

Medici.

ſome near relation, of almoſt every one that was then preſent, had been unjuſtly put to death. That the City was now going to relapſe into the ſame ſtate of confuſion and oppreſſion, as the multitude had already taken upon them to impoſe taxes; and, if they were not either curbed by force, or reſtrained by ſome other more deſirable expedient, would certainly, in the next place, proceed to appoint ſuch officers as they thought fit: after which, they would turn the preſent magiſtrates out of their ſeats, to the utter deſtruction of an adminiſtration which had governed the City with ſo much glory and reputation, for the ſpace of forty-two years. The conſequence of which would be, that Florence muſt either be blindly governed by the caprice of the multitude, (and then one party would live in continual danger and apprehenſion, whilſt the other rioted in all manner of licentiouſneſs) or it muſt fall under the ſubjection of ſome one perſon, who would make himſelf abſolute Lord, and perhaps Tyrant over it. It was the duty, he ſaid, of every man that had any affection for his Country, or regard for his own reputation, to exert himſelf at that time, and to follow the example of Bardo Mancini, who delivered the City from the imminent danger it was in, by the extirpation of the Alberti: and as the audaciouſneſs of the multitude was in a great meaſure owing to the largeneſs of the Imborſations, and the little care that was taken in them, (which had filled the palace with new and mean men) he thought the only remedy that was left for ſuch diſorders would be, to reſtore the authority of the Nobility, and diminiſh that of the Minor Arts, by reducing them from fourteen to ſeven: which would leſſen the power of the Plebeians in the Councils, both by retrenching their number, and by throwing more weight into the ſcale of the Grandees, who would be ſure to uſe all poſſible endeavours to depreſs them, out of revenge for old injuries. That wiſe men always availed themſelves of different ſorts of people at different ſeaſons; and if their fathers

had made use of the assistance of the Plebeians, to humble the insolence of the Grandees, now the latter were brought so low, and the former become so audacious, it would be no bad expedient to join with one to lower the other: to effect which, if artifice was not sufficient, they must have recourse to forcible means; as they had that in their power, now some of them were in the *Commission of Ten*, and might secretly bring a few companies of soldiers into the City."

This speech of Rinaldo's was much applauded, and his advice approved of by every body; and Nicolò da Uzzano, in the name of the rest, made answer, "That what he had said was very true, and the remedies he proposed efficacious and certain, provided they could be applied without making an open division in the City; which yet he thought might be done, if they could draw Giovanni de' Medici into their designs: for if he concurred with them, the multitude being deprived of their head, would not be able to make any opposition: but if he could not be brought over, they could not effect it without force; and in that case, it was doubtful whether they should prevail; and if they did, they probably might not long enjoy the fruits of their victory. He then modestly reminded them of the advice he had before given them, and of their contempt of those warnings, at a time when they might easily have prevented these difficulties: but it was now too late to do that, he said, without great peril and hazard, except they could gain Giovanni de' Medici."

Uzzano

Medici.

They deputed Rinaldo, therefore, to wait upon Giovanni, and try, if he could make any impression upon him; which he did accordingly, and used all the arguments he could think of to persuade him to join them; and not, by fostering and indulging the multitude, at last encourage them to rebel, to the utter subversion of the Government, and ruin of the City at the same time. To which Giovanni replied, "That he had always thought it the duty of a good and

and wiſe Citizen to endeavour to prevent any change in the eſtabliſhed laws and cuſtoms of the State he lived in, as nothing gave greater offence to the generality, than alterations of that kind; and where many are diſcontented, it is but natural to apprehend ſome fatal event. That this their deſign, in all probability, would produce two very pernicious effects: for, in the firſt place, they would be obliged to confer honours and employments upon ſuch, as having never enjoyed any before, did not know how to ſet a due value upon them, and conſequently would have the leſs reaſon to complain, if they were not admitted to them; and in the next, by depriving others of ſuch emoluments as they had long been uſed to taſte the ſweets of, they would provoke them to ſuch a degree, that it would be impoſſible ever to appeaſe them again till they were reſtored: by which manner of proceeding, one party would think themſelves much more aggrieved, than the other benefited. So that whoſoever ſhould be hardy enough to purſue ſuch a reſolution, would ſoon find he had gained but few friends, and many enemies; the latter of whom would be more eager to do him a miſchief than the former to defend him: mankind being naturally more prone to revenge than gratitude; ſince the one puts them to the expence of refunding, and repaying paſt favours; the other always ſeems attended with ſome degree either of pleaſure or profit." Then addreſſing himſelf in a more particular manner to Rinaldo, he told him, that if he would be pleaſed to recollect what had already happened, and conſider how baſely and perfidiouſly the Citizens of Florence commonly dealt with each other, perhaps he might not be altogether ſo ſanguine in his preſent undertaking: for that as ſoon as the promoters and adviſers of it had ſufficiently depreſſed the people by the help of his authority, they would certainly fall upon him next with the whole force and aſſiſtance of the Plebeians, whoſe affections he muſt have loſt by ſuch a conduct; and then he would be utterly de-

ſerted and ruined. That he could not help remembring the fate of Benedetto Alberti, who, at the inſtigation of ſuch as conſpired his deſtruction, conſented to the ſevere proceedings againſt Georgio Scali and Tomaſo Strozzi; and ſoon after, was ſent into exile himſelf, by the very perſons who had inveigled him into thoſe meaſures. He adviſed him, therefore, to think more coolly of the matter, and to tread in the ſteps of his father, who, amongſt other Benefactions, had made himſelf ſo dear to his fellow-citizens, by lowering the exceſſive price of ſalt; by leaving it to the option of every one, whoſe taxes did not amount to the value of half a Florin, whether he would pay them or not; and by procuring a law to be paſſed, that no body ſhould be arreſted for debt on ſuch days as the Councils were aſſembled. He told him in ſhort, that for his own part, he ſhould never agree to have any alterations made in the laws or conſtitution of his Country *.

When the ſubject of theſe deliberations came to be publickly known, it ſtill added to the reputation of Giovanni, and wonderfully increaſed the hatred which the people had already conceived againſt the other Citizens; with whom he broke off all manner of commerce, that he might not ſeem to give them any encouragement to purſue their deſigns under his countenance and authority. On the contrary, he took great pains, to convince every one in his daily converſation, that it was ſo far from his intention to blow up diſcord and faction, that he ſhould uſe his utmoſt endeavours to extinguiſh them; and that he deſired

* Nothing can be more diſguſtful to a free people, that have lived in peace and ſecurity under the protection of good Laws, (the neceſſity, utility, and comfort of which, have been fully evinced by a long courſe of time) than an attempt to annul them. Nor has any thing been more fatal to Princes: of which, every one muſt remember many inſtances, that would be tedious, and perhaps invidious, to recite. Hence the celebrated ſaying, Nolumus Angliæ leges mutari: and, old ways are the beſt ways: the latter of which was formerly engraved upon the walls of the Houſe of Commons. Hence the juſt attachment and regard that has always been ſhewn to them.—The learned Sir John Forteſcue, Chancellor of England, in the time of

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nothing more than the union of the City. At which declarations, many of his followers were not a little disappointed, as they expected to have seen him act with more vigour in such a conjuncture; especially Alamanno de' Medici, who being a man of a warm disposition, was continually urging him to take this opportunity of humbling his enemies, and exalting his friends; reproaching him with his coldness and phlegmatic manner of proceeding, which, as he said, emboldened those that wished him ill, to form daily conspiracies against him, without any sort of fear or reserve, and would one time or other prove the ruin of all his family and dependants. They were seconded in this by Cosimo his son; but he was deaf to all their remonstrances and prognostications, and determined to pursue his own measures: the designs of the faction, however, were now plainly discovered, and the City began once more to divide itself into parties.

Cosimo

There were at that time, two Chancellors presiding in the supreme Court of Justice under the Signiory, whose names were * Martino and Paolo: the former was of Uzzano's party, the latter followed that of the Medici. Rinaldo, therefore, perceiving that Giovanni continued inflexible, and would not come into their measures at any rate, resolved to turn Martino out of his office, as he thought that court would then be wholly at his devotion. But the other side being aware of this, were before-hand with him, and contrived matters so well, that they got Martino continued and Paolo discharged, to the great mortification and prejudice of his party. This would certainly have occasioned great commotions in the City, if it

Henry VI. speaking of this kingdom in his treatise, De dominio politico & regali, says, "Regnum hoc in omnibus nationum & regum temporibus, iisdem quibus nunc regitur legibus & consuetudinibus, regebatur." "The laws and customs by which this Kingdom is now governed, are the very same with those by which it was governed in the times of all former Kings, and the several nations that have come into it." A rare example! See State Tracts, Vol. III. p. 269, 270. concerning the right of Subjects to petition, &c.

* The surnames of these two Magistrates are wanting in the original.

had not happened in a time of war: for the people had not yet recovered their ſpirits ſince the defeat before Zagonara; and whilſt things were in ſuch confuſion at home, Agnola della Pergola, the Duke's General, had taken all the towns in Romagna, that were in the poſſeſſion of the Florentines, except Caſtracaro and Modigliana; ſome of them being ſo ill fortified, that they were not in a condition to ſuſtain a ſiege, and others given up through the puſillanimity or treachery of their governors.

In the reduction of theſe towns there happened two remarkable circumſtances, which may ſerve to ſhew how much true valour and fidelity are admired, and with what deteſtation, cowardice and perfidy are looked upon even by an enemy. Biagio del Melano was then Governor of the Caſtle of Monte Petroſo, which was inveſted on every ſide by the enemy; and as they at laſt ſet fire to it, and he ſaw there was no poſſibility of ſaving the fortreſs, he threw a parcel of ſtraw and bedding over the walls, on that ſide where the fire had not yet ſpread itſelf, upon which he let down two of his Sons who were but infants, and told the enemy, "they were welcome to them and all his other worldly goods, which indeed were now in their hands; but his honour and reputation, which he had always eſteemed his only real treaſure, he would never give up, nor was it in their power to raviſh them from him." The beſiegers, ſtruck with admiration at his Magnanimity, immediately ran to take up the children, and threw him ropes and ſcaling ladders to ſave himſelf; but he would not make uſe of them; and choſe rather to periſh in the flames, than owe his life to the enemies of his country *. An example of

* An inſtance of the ſame kind happened at Præneſte, when it was taken by Sylla. He ordered his ſoldiers to plunder the town, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword, except one man, who had formerly entertained him with great hoſpitality. This man, however, when he heard of it, ſaid, he diſdained the thoughts of being obliged for his life to one that had ruined his country; and diſguiſing himſelf, he mixed in the crowd with his fellow-citizens, and was killed. But are not theſe inſtances of madneſs rather than true valour? and if they are not, have we not many of the ſame in modern hiſtory, and ſome in that of our own nation, without recurring to antiquity?

fortitude that may vie with the heroiſm of Antiquity; and the more remarkable, as ſuch were but very rare in thoſe times. What effects could be ſaved from the fire were generouſly reſtored to the children, who were likewiſe ſent home to their relations: and the Republick, out of gratitude to the bravery of their father, made a handſome proviſion for them as long as they lived. Very different was the behaviour of Zanobi del Pino, governor of Galeata, who not only ſhamefully gave up that place without making any defence, but adviſed Agnolo to leave the mountains and faſtneſſes of Romagna, and deſcend into the plains of Tuſcany, where he might carry on the war with leſs danger and greater advantage. But Agnolo, deteſting his baſeneſs and cowardice, delivered him up to his own men, who, having treated him with the contempt and abhorrence he deſerved, ſhut him up in a dungeon, with nothing but a pack of cards to eat; telling him "*that* would ſoon make him a good Ghibeline, ſince he had choſen to leave the Guelphs:" but he died in a few days of hunger *.

In the mean time, Count Oddo and Niccolo Piccinino had entered the Vale of Lamona, to try if they could prevail upon the Lord of Faenza to join the Florentines; or at leaſt to curb the excurſions of Agnolo, if poſſible, in Romagna. But as that Vale is naturally fortified with ſtrong paſſes, and the inhabitants inured to arms, the Count was ſlain and Niccolo taken priſoner and ſent to Faenza. Fortune however ſo ordered it, that the Florentines gained by

* As Machiavel has honoured Biagio with ſaying, that 'his fortitude might vie with the heroiſm of antiquity,' he ought in juſtice to have diſtinguiſhed Zanobi too by comparing his baſeneſs with that of old times. For there were very eminent Poltroons and Traitors in thoſe days as well as in theſe later ages, bad as they have been: though Machiavel, like many others, ſeems to ſpeak as if the world was inhabited only by Heroes and Demi Gods at that time of day. There have always been good and bad, brave men and cowards, and mankind ſeem to have been pretty much the ſame from the firſt accounts we have had of their actions to the preſent times. Complaints of their prodigious wickedneſs and degeneracy are not peculiar to our own: the moſt antient poets and hiſtorians, both ſacred and profane, abound with them.

the conſequence of this defeat what they could not perhaps have obtained by a Victory: for Niccolo negotiated ſo effectually with the Lord of Faenza and his Mother, that they conſented to enter into an alliance with the Republick of Florence; in conſequence of which he was ſet at liberty. Yet he did not think fit to purſue thoſe meaſures himſelf, which he had recommended to others: for when he had received the arrears that were due to him from the Florentines, he either thought their pay too inconſiderable, or that he could have better elſewhere: upon which, he ſuddenly left Arezzo, where he then reſided, and went to Duke Philip in Lombardy, who took him into his ſervice. The Florentines, diſmayed at this unexpected deſertion, and the great expence they had been at to no purpoſe, began to perceive they were not any longer able to bear the burden of this war alone; and therefore ſent Ambaſſadors to entreat the Venetians to take a ſhare in it, and prevent the farther progreſs of a Prince, whoſe growing power, if not timely checked, would be as prejudicial to them as to the State of Florence. The Venetians were likewiſe adviſed to it by Franciſco Carmignuola, a Commander of very great reputation in thoſe times, who had formerly ſerved under the Duke, but afterwards left him upon ſome diſguſt. They were doubtful, however, for ſome time what part to act in this matter; as they did not thoroughly confide in Carmignuola, and ſuſpected the miſunderſtanding betwixt him and the Duke was only a pretended one. But whilſt they were in this ſtate of ſuſpence, it happened that the Duke had found means to bribe one of that General's Domeſticks to give him poiſon; which, though it did not prove mortal, very much impaired his health. Upon this, the Venetians laid aſide all ſuſpicion of Carmignuola's fidelity; and the Florentines ſtill continuing to ſollicit their aid, they entered into a League with them, in which it was agreed betwixt the two States, that the war ſhould be proſecuted at their common expence; that the Venetians ſhould hold what they

might

might happen to conquer in Lombardy, and the Florentines enjoy ſuch towns as they could reduce in Tuſcany and Romagna; and that Carmignuola ſhould be appointed Captain General of the League. In conſequence of this confederacy, the war was immediately carried into Lombardy, where it was conducted with ſuch bravery and integrity by Carmignuola, that in the courſe of a few months, he took many towns from the Duke, and at laſt made himſelf maſter of Breſcia; a city which, according to the method of making war in thoſe times, was thought impregnable.

This war having now laſted five years, that is, from 1422 to 1427, the Citizens began to be ſo grievouſly impoveriſhed by the heavy and continual impoſitions which had been laid upon them, that it was thought proper to make ſome alteration in them. In order, therefore, to proportion them according to every man's circumſtances, it was provided that perſonal eſtates ſhould be taxed as well as real; and that whoſoever had effects of that kind to the value of an hundred Florins or more, ſhould pay one half as much for every hundred as a perſon that had land or houſes of the ſame worth. And as this tax was regulated by a Law made on purpoſe, and not left to the Arbitrement of partial or intereſted perſons, it was likely to fall ſo much the more heavily upon the richer Citizens. Upon which account, it was vehemently oppoſed by them all before it paſſed into a Law, except Giovanni de' Medici, who publickly expreſſed his approbation of it; ſo that it was carried againſt them. And becauſe every man's goods were rated in this aſſeſſment, which the Florentines call Accaſtare, it went by the name of Cataſto. By this law the more powerful Citizens were in ſome meaſure reſtrained from oppreſſing the inferior ſort, and influencing their votes in the Councils, as they had been uſed to do, by the threats of taxing them according as they gave their ſuffrages. This tax, therefore, was very cheerfully ſubmitted to by the generality, though highly diſguſtful to the go-

vernment.

vernment. But as it is the nature of mankind to be ever reſtleſs and diſcontented, and when they have gained one advantage, to be ſtill graſping at a higher, the people not ſatisfied with this equality of taxation, eſtabliſhed by the Law, demanded a retroſpect, by which it might appear how much leſs the rich Citizens had paid before, than they ought to have done according to this regulation, and every one be made to account for deficiencies; that ſo they might be put upon the ſame level with thoſe who had been obliged to ſell their goods and inheritances to diſcharge impoſitions ſo arbitrarily laid upon them. This demand ſeemed ſtill more grievous than the Cataſto itſelf, to thoſe that had lately been in power, who, to evade the force of it, made heavy remonſtrances, and ſaid, "it was a moſt unjuſt diſtribution; as the tax was laid upon moveables, which often changed hands and were daily ſubject to periſh: that there were many who had concealed treaſures, the knowledge of which could not eaſily be come at: that it was hard upon thoſe who were loaded with the care of the public affairs, (to the great detriment of their own private concerns) to be equally taxed with the reſt of the Citizens; and that it might reaſonably be hoped, whilſt the Republick was ſatisfied with only the pecuniary contributions of ſome, it would not be ſo rigorous to exact both the labours and fortunes of others." To this it was anſwered by thoſe who approved of the Cataſto, "that as moveable goods changed hands, the tax might be varied accordingly; that no account was to be made of ſuch as had concealed treaſure, or money locked up in their coffers; for as wealth of that ſort did not yield any profit or intereſt, it would be unreaſonable to tax it; and whenever it was otherwiſe applied, it muſt of neceſſity be known: that if any one was tired of his labours for the good of his country, he was at liberty to reſign his employment, if he pleaſed, and to give himſelf no farther trouble about it; ſince it was hoped, other well-diſpoſed Citizens might be found,

found, who would not grudge to assist the Republic both with their fortune and counsels: and that when so much honour, and so many other emoluments were the constant reward of such as filled the great offices of State, they might think themselves very well paid for their services, without being exempted from the common taxes. But this, they said, was not the real cause of their murmurs; they were mortified that they could no longer carry on a war solely at the expence of others, but were now obliged to share in it themselves: that if this course had been taken before, there neither would have been any war with King Ladislaus in times past, nor at present with Duke Philip; both which were set on foot, without any necessity, and only to enrich some particular Citizens."

These discontents, however, were in some degree allayed by the authority of Giovanni de' Medici, who represented to the people, the bad consequences of retrospects: "That it behoved them rather at present to look forward, and provide for the future: that if the late taxes had been heavy and unreasonable, they ought to thank God that a way had been found to alleviate them, and to use their endeavours to unite, and not divide the City, as they certainly would, if they persisted in their demand of reducing former taxes to the level of the present: and that a wise General was sometimes very well content with a victory, that was not altogether complete; since experience shewed, that men, by grasping at too much, often lost what they had gained before." With these, and other arguments of the like nature, he soothed the resentment of the people in such a manner, that they dropped their demand of a retrospect.

Soon after this, a peace was concluded with Duke Philip at Ferrara, by the mediation of a Legate from the Pope: but as it was not long before he broke the conditions of it, the League took up arms again, and came to an engagement with his forces at Maclovio, where they utterly defeated him. After which, he

he propoſed freſh terms to them, which were accepted by the Florentines, becauſe they grew jealous of the Venetians, and thought, that they were throwing their money away only to aggrandize others. The Venetians likewiſe, for their part, were no leſs ready to come into the accommodation; as they found Carmignuola proceeded but very ſlowly, and made little advantage of his victory, after he had routed the Duke's army: on which account, they thought it unſafe to truſt him any farther. A peace therefore
1428 was ſigned betwixt them in the year 1428; by which, the towns that had been taken from the Florentines in Romagna were reſtored to them, and Breſcia ceded to the Venetians; beſides which, the Duke gave them the city of Bergamo, and the Territory belonging to it. This war coſt the Florentines three millions and five hundred thouſand Ducats; a war, which only ſerved to give the Venetians an opportunity of extending their power and dominion; whilſt it produced nothing but poverty and diſſenſion amongſt themſelves. For a peace was no ſooner concluded with the Duke, but freſh Commotions began amongſt their own ſubjects. The late Governors not being able to bear the Cataſto, and ſeeing no other way to rid themſelves of it, endeavoured to raiſe a ſpirit of diſcontent in the reſt of the Citizens; that ſo they might avail themſelves of their co-operation to procure a repeal of it. For this purpoſe, they repreſented to the Commiſſioners that were appointed to levy the tax, "that they ought to ſearch all the houſes of the neighbouring towns; as the inhabitants of Florence might, perhaps, convey ſome part of their effects thither." In conſequence of which, all towns that were ſubject to the Florentines had orders to deliver inventories of their goods to them in a certain time. But the people of Volterra would not comply with this order, and ſent ſome of their townſmen to complain of it to the Signiory, as an act of oppreſſion: at which the Commiſſioners were ſo provoked, that they ſent eighteen of them to priſon.

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The Volterrans likewiſe were exceedingly enraged at this treatment; but durſt not rebel at that time, for fear of bringing a heavier puniſhment upon their Deputies.

In this juncture, Giovanni de' Medici fell ſick, and finding there was no hope of recovery, he called his two Sons, Coſimo and Lorenzo, to his bed-ſide, and ſpoke to them in this manner: "I perceive that I am now approaching the limits which God and Nature have preſcribed to my days. I ſhall die with pleaſure, as I leave you both, my dear children, in health and proſperity, and in a condition to live with honour, and beloved by every body, if you follow my example and inſtructions. For indeed, nothing gives me ſo much conſolation in this extremity, as the reflexion that I have never injured any man; but, on the contrary, have always endeavoured to do good to every one to the utmoſt of my power. Let me adviſe you to do the ſame. If you would live with ſafety and comfort, be content with ſuch a ſhare in the government as your fellow-citizens confer upon you; by which you will avoid envy and danger. For as it is that which a man arrogates to himſelf that makes him odious, and not what is voluntarily given him: ſo you will always be upon a much ſecurer bottom, and obtain more than they, who, by attempting to invade the rights of others, often loſe their own, and in the mean time live in continual anxiety and diſquietude. By obſerving this conduct, I have not only preſerved, but augmented my fortune and reputation in this City, amongſt ſo many enemies and inteſtine broils: and by the ſame manner of life, it is in your power both to maintain and increaſe yours. But if you take a different courſe, you may depend upon it, your end will be like that of ſeveral others, who, in my memory, have ruined both themſelves and their families." He died not long after, extremely lamented by the whole City, as he well deſerved to be, conſidering his excellent qualities. For he was very charitable and compaſ-

ſionate,

ſionate, and not only gave liberally to thoſe that were in want, but prevented their aſking. His univerſal benevolence taught him to love good men, and pity the evil. He never ſollicited any Honours, though he obtained the higheſt. He never went to the palace, but when the reſt of the Signiory ſent for him. He was always averſe to war, and recommended pacific meaſures. To thoſe that were in adverſity, he was a kind friend, and promoted the welfare of ſuch as lived in proſperity. Diſdaining to plunder the public, his ſole aim was to ſerve his Country. When in power, he was affable and eaſy of acceſs to every one; exceeding wiſe, though not a man of much eloquence. He had a melancholy countenance, but was pleaſant and facetious in converſation. He died poſſeſſed of immenſe riches, and full of glory and reputation; leaving his ſon Coſimo heir to his fame and fortune; both which he not only maintained, but augmented.

The Volterran deputies being tired of their impriſonment, at laſt promiſed to comply with the order before mentioned: upon which, they were ſet at liberty, and returned to Volterra, juſt at a time when they were making an Imborſation for new Magiſtrates there: and as it happened, one Giuſto *, a Plebeian, but a man in great credit with the people, and one of thoſe that had been confined at Florence, was drawn amongſt the reſt. This man, though already ſufficiently irritated at the Florentines, both on account of the private injury which he himſelf had ſuſtained, and the indignity that was offered to the whole town, became ſtill more determined by the inſtigations of Giovanni di †, a man of a noble family and his aſſociate in the Magiſtracy, to make uſe of his intereſt and authority, to wreſt the town out of the hands of the Florentines, and take the government of it upon himſelf. Upon this encouragement, Giuſto took

* The Surname is wanting in the original.
† The Surname is alſo wanting here.

arms,

arms, made himſelf maſter of the town, ſeized upon the Governor, and, by the conſent of the people, took the reins into his own hands. The Florentines were not a little mortified at the revolt of Volterra. However, as they had concluded a peace with the Duke of Milan, they thought they ſhould have nobody to diſturb them in attempting to recover it; and therefore immediately appointed Rinaldo degli Albizi and Palla Strozzi their * commiſſaries to conduct the expedition. But Giuſto expecting to be moleſted in his new ſovereignty by the Florentines, ſent to deſire the aid of the Lucchese and Sieneſe; the former of whom would not ſend him any, as they were then in amity with the State of Florence: and Paolo Guinigi, who at that time was Lord of Lucca, in order to regain the friendſhip of the Florentines (which he feared he had loſt by inclining to the intereſt of Duke Philip) not only flatly refuſed to give him any aſſiſtance, but ſent the perſon under a guard to Florence, who came to ſollicit it. Theſe commiſſaries reſolving to come upon the Volterrans before they could form any alliances, preſently drew together all their horſe, and raiſed a large body of infantry in the lower part of the Vale of Arno and the territory of Piſa, and advanced towards Volterra. Giuſto, on the other hand, was not wanting to himſelf; and though he ſaw the great preparations which the Florentines were making againſt him, and that he muſt expect no ſuccour from the neighbouring States, yet he truſted to the ſtrength and ſituation of the place, and manfully provided for his defence. There was at that time in Volterra, one Meſſer' Arcolano, a man of good intereſt amongſt the moſt

* Commiſſaries, in the foreign ſervice, are officers that muſter the army, ſettle the procuration, conveyance, and diſtribution of proviſions, ammunition, and pay, take a particular account of every regiment, ſee that they are complete, that the horſes are in good order, and the men well armed and accoutred. They likewiſe ſometimes regulate the conduct of the General, and are a check upon his proceedings, and ſometimes command the forces themſelves, acting as Intendant of the army and Lieutenant General at the ſame time.

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conſiderable of the townſmen, and brother to that Giovanni, by whoſe perſuaſions Giuſto had been prevailed upon to take the government of it himſelf. This Arcolano having aſſembled ſeveral of his moſt truſty friends, repreſented to them how fair an opportunity Providence had now given them of advancing themſelves and delivering their city out of its preſent troubles: for if they would take up arms to depoſe Giuſto and deliver up the city again into the hands of the Florentines, they would not only preſerve its ancient privileges, but become the Governors of it. To this they all readily conſented, and going directly to the Palace where Giuſto reſided, ſome of them ſtaid below ſtairs, whilſt Arcolano and three others went up into his apartment; and finding him there with ſome of the Citizens, they took him aſide, as if they had ſomething of importance to communicate to him; and having drawn him by degrees, in the courſe of their converſation, into another room, they ſhut the door and fell upon him with their ſwords. He had the courage however to draw his own, and deſperately wounded two of them before he fell: but not being able to deal with ſo many, he was killed at laſt, and his body thrown out of the window. After which, the reſt of Arcolano's accomplices took arms and delivered up the city to the Florentine commiſſaries; who preſently brought in their whole army and took poſſeſſion of it, without any Capitulation or terms granted to the inhabitants. So that the city was ſtill more humbled and fell into worſe circumſtances than it was in before: for beſides other marks of their indignation, the Florentines took away the greater part of their territory from them, and reduced the reſt into a Bailiwick.

Volterra being thus happily recovered, it was hoped a laſting tranquillity would have been eſtabliſhed both abroad and at home. But ambition ſoon kindled a new war. Niccolo Fortebraccio, the Son of a Siſter to Braccio da Perugia, had long ſerved the Flo-

Florentines in their wars with the Duke of Milan. But after a Peace was concluded betwixt them, this commander was discharged from their pay, and had his quarters at Fucecchio: from whence the commissaries sent for him and his troops to employ them in the reduction of Volterra. It was therefore generally believed that whilst Rinaldo degli Albizi was engaged with him in that enterprize, he persuaded him to pick a quarrel upon some pretence or other with the Lucchese, by insinuating to him that if he did, he would so order matters, that war should be declared against Lucca, by the Florentines; and that he should be appointed their commander in chief. Accordingly, as soon as Volterra was retaken, and Niccolo had returned to Fucecchio, (either at the sollicitation of Rinaldo, or in consequence of a design, which he himself had formed) he marched away in November 1429, at the head of three hundred horse, and the same number of foot, and surprized Ruoti and Compito, two Castles belonging to the Lucchese; from whence he daily made excursions into their other territories and there committed great depredations. When the news of these proceedings arrived at Florence, the whole city was divided into little meetings and cabals of all ranks of people; the generality of whom were for commencing hostilities against the Lucchese. Amongst the more considerable Citizens that favoured this undertaking, were all the followers of the Medici family, who were joined by Rinaldo degli Albizi, either because he really thought it would be for the good of the Public, or that he should thereby effectually serve his own private interest and ambition, and become more popular if the expedition proved successful, by having been the adviser and promoter of it. Those that opposed it, were chiefly Niccolo da Uzzano and his Party.

It seems almost incredible that there should be such a change of opinions in the same Citizens, on this occasion, concerning the expedience of a war. And

yet those very persons who, after a Peace that had lasted ten years, opposed a war against Duke Philip, which was undertaken in defence of their own liberties, now strenuously insisted upon one against Lucca, to invade the rights of others; and at a time too when the city was exhausted and impoverished to the last degree, by the heavy expences of the last. And on the contrary, those Citizens who had been the most active and forward in promoting that war, were now as vehement in dissuading this. From hence we may observe, what a wonderful alteration time usually makes in the judgment of mankind; how much more ready they are to usurp the property of others, than to defend their own; and how much stronger the hope of gain is, than the fear of losing; the latter seldom operating except when the danger is imminent; but the former at all times, even when the prospect of success is most precarious and at the greatest distance. And it must be considered likewise that the Florentines were at this time exceedingly elated with the hopes of enjoying those acquisitions, which Fortebraccio had already made and was daily increasing; and from the Letters they received from the governors of their fortresses that lay near the confines of the Lucchese: for those of Pescia and Vico wrote to desire commissions to take such towns as surrendered, under their protection; since they might assure themselves they would soon be masters of all the territories belonging to the Lucchese. And these expectations were still heightened by an embassy sent from Paolo Guinigi Lord of Lucca to the Signiory of Florence, to complain of the depredations made by Fortebraccio, and to entreat them not to join their enemy in making war upon a neighbouring State, which had always lived in strict amity with them.

The name of this Ambassador was Jacopo Viviani, a man, who not long before had been thrown into prison by Paolo Guinigi for being concerned in a conspiracy against him: and as Guinigi had pardoned him,

him, though he was found guilty, he thought he might reaſonably expect his beſt endeavours to ſerve him. But the remembrance of the danger he had eſcaped, making a deeper impreſſion upon him, than the ſenſe of the favour he had received, when he came to Florence he ſecretly adviſed the Citizens to purſue their deſigns. Flattered by this encouragement and the hopes they had already conceived, the Signiory aſſembled the Common Council, where the matter was debated by ſome of the leading men of the Republic, in the preſence of four hundred and ninety-eight Citizens. Amongſt the chief of thoſe that promoted the enterprize, was Rinaldo degli Albizi (as was ſaid before) who ſhewed them the advantages that would reſult from making themſelves maſters of Lucca: that they could never have a fairer opportunity than the preſent, as that State was then abandoned both by the Venetians and the Duke of Milan, and could not be relieved by the Pope, who was ſufficiently embroiled in the affairs of Naples: that the ſucceſs was certain, as the government of Lucca was then uſurped by one of its own Citizens, and had loſt much of its ancient vigour and alacrity in defending its liberties; ſo that it was more than probable it would be delivered up into their hands, either by the people, to get rid of their tyrant, or by the tyrant for fear of the people. He then recited many inſtances of Guinigi's malevolence and of the injuries he had done their Republic; aſſuring them they would find him a thorn in their ſide, and a very dangerous enemy, if they ſhould chance to be engaged in a freſh quarrel with the Duke, or the Pope; and concluded with ſaying, "that no war was ever entered into by the State of Florence with more juſtice on its ſide, or more likely to be attended with ſucceſs and advantage to the public."

In anſwer to this, Niccolo da Uzzano ſaid, "that on the contrary, he could not help being of opinion that they had never engaged in any undertaking that was more unjuſt, more hazardous, or more likely

to be of fatal consequence to the State. That in the first place, they were going to declare war against a city of the Guelph party, which at all times had been a friend to the Florentines, and had often received the Guelphs with open arms, and with great peril and prejudice to itself, when they were not suffered to live at peace and safety at home. That there was no instance to be found in the annals of the Commonwealth of any offence that the Lucchese had ever given them: that if those who at different times had usurped the government of their State, as Castruccio formerly, and Guinigi at present, had done them any injury, it ought not to be imputed to the Citizens, but to the Tyrant that ruled over them. That if they could make war upon one, without hurting the other, he should not be against it: but since that was impossible, he thought it most cruel and unjust, that a people with whom they had always lived in amity and alliance, should be plundered and stripped of their goods and territories without any cause or offence: that however, as they lived in an age when little account was made of justice, he should drop that consideration, and confine himself chiefly to what regarded common utility and the welfare of the Republic. Those measures, he said, might be esteemed good and safe, and therefore profitable, which were not liable to be attended with loss or damage: but he did not see how any one could call that undertaking profitable, where the loss was certain, and the gain precarious. The certainty of loss proceeded from the expence it must occasion; the greatness of which was enough to alarm even a city that had long lived in tranquillity, but much more their own, which had already been sufficiently harrassed and exhausted by a tedious and devouring war. The profit they might expect to reap was the acquisition of Lucca, which he confessed, was considerable: but the difficulties and uncertainty of succeeding in the enterprize ought likewise to be remembered, and appeared to him so great, that he thought

thought it impoſſible. For it was not to be imagined that either the Venetians or the Duke of Milan would ſuffer them to make ſuch a conqueſt, though the former perhaps might conceal their deſigns at preſent, not to ſeem ungrateful to the Florentines, at whoſe expence they had lately enlarged their dominions ſo conſiderably: and the latter would be glad to ſee them entangled in a new war, and impoveriſhed with freſh expences, that ſo he might fall upon them again with greater advantage. That in the mean time, when they vainly thought themſelves ſureſt of ſucceſs, he would find ſome means or other, of ſupplying the Lucchese with money either publickly or privately; and if that was not ſufficient, he might pretend to diſband his troops and ſend them as ſoldiers of fortune into their ſervice. Upon which account, he would adviſe them to give up the enterprize, and rather endeavour to excite the people of Lucca to riſe againſt their Tyrant; for if nothing elſe would ſatisfy ſome perſons but the acquiſition of that city, he thought there was no way ſo likely to effect it, as to ſuffer them to live under the oppreſſion and inſolence of the uſurper. For if the matter was conducted with prudence, things might ſoon be brought to ſuch a paſs there, that the tyrant would not be able to ſupport himſelf in his government, and the Citizens not knowing how to govern of themſelves, muſt of neceſſity give it up to them. But that he ſaw the Council in a manner already determined, and that his advice was not liſtened to. However, he would take upon him to prophesy, that the war would be attended with a very grievous expence and much danger; that, inſtead of making themſelves maſters of Lucca, they would only enable it to ſhake off its preſent yoke; and from a weak and oppreſſed city that was in amity with them, it would become a free State, and an enemy too; which in time might prove no inconſiderable obſtacle to the aggrandizement of their own Republic."

After both ſides of the queſtion had been thoroughly canvaſſed, they proceeded as uſual to * a ballot, by which it appeared, that out of ſo great a number, there were only ninety-eight againſt a war. It was therefore reſolved upon; and ten Citizens being appointed to conduct it, they raiſed both horſe and foot, made Aſtorre Gianni and Rinaldo degli Albizi their commiſſaries, and agreed with Niccolo Fortebraccio to be their Commander in chief, on condition that he ſhould be ſuffered to keep poſſeſſion of the towns and fortreſſes he had already taken. When the commiſſaries arrived with their troops in the territories of Lucca they divided their army; Aſtorre marching with one part through the plains towards Camaggiore and Pietro Santa; and Rinaldo towards the mountains with the other; imagining that when all communication was cut off with the Country, the city muſt ſoon fall into their hands. But this expe-

* A manner of voting in elections, debates, or criminal cauſes by dropping black or white balls, called *Balotes* by the French, into a box or bag or ſomething of that kind; the white ones ſignifying aſſent, the black ones diſſent: by which every man is at liberty to vote according to his conſcience, not being in awe of any one, or fear of having it known which way he gave his vote: the majority of white balls determining *for* the queſtion, of black balls *againſt* it. This ſeems to be a very equitable manner of proceeding, and is of great antiquity. In the trial of criminal cauſes at Rome, an *A* upon the Balots which the Judges threw into an Urn, ſignified the whole word word *Abſolvo*. or, *I abſolve the perſon accuſed*: whence Cicero calls *A, Litera ſalutaris, a ſaving letter.* They had other Balots with a *C* upon them which ſignified *Condemno, I condemn the perſon accuſed*: and others likewiſe marked with the letters *N* and *L*. *Non Liquet*, to order that the matter ſhould be further enquired into: as the Judges hereby declared, that it was not ſufficiently plain, and that they would not decide it whilſt it remained ſo. This was alſo ſometimes expreſſed *viva voce*, by the word *Amplius*, as we may learn from the following paſſage in Cicero: "Cauſam pro Publicanis dixit Cælius. Conſules re auditâ *amplius* de Concilii ſententiâ pronunciârunt. Cælius pleaded for the publicans. The conſuls, after they had heard him, by the advice of the Senate, pronounced, *let this matter be further enquired into.*" The Greeks likewiſe uſed this cuſtom in their criminal cauſes, baniſhments or oſtraciſms, ſo called from writing the ſentence or acquittal upon oyſter-ſhells, or by throwing black or white beans into a covered Urn. It is a pity it is not ſtill continued in all great aſſemblies, as it ſeems ſo well calculated to prevent corruption. Some interpret the ſaying of Pythagoras, *abſtine a fabis*, as an admonition not to meddle in public affairs, eſpecially in ſentences.

dition

dition proved unfortunate to them both in the end: for though they took ſeveral towns, yet their conduct was highly cenſured by the Public; and Aſtorre's indeed with great reaſon.

There is a Vale near Pietra Santa called Seravezza, which at that time was very rich and full of inhabitants, who hearing of the commiſſary's approach, went out to meet him, and entreated him to receive them into his protection, as faithful ſubjects to the State of Florence. Upon which, Aſtorre ſeeming to accept their ſubmiſſion with pleaſure, ordered his forces to ſeize upon all the paſſes and ſtrong places in the Vale: and having aſſembled them all in their principal Church, he kept them priſoners there, and cauſed his ſoldiers to plunder and ravage the whole Country, with unheard of avarice and barbarity; not ſparing even the conſecrated places, or women of any degree or profeſſion whatſoever. When the news of theſe proceedings arrived at Florence, not only the Magiſtracy but the whole city was exceedingly offended. And ſome of the Seravezzans, who had eſcaped from the commiſſary, flying directly to Florence, made ſuch grievous complaints and lamentations to every one they met in the ſtreets, that many of the Citizens, who either thought Aſtorre deſerved to be ſeverely puniſhed for theſe miſdeeds, or hated him becauſe he was not of their party, adviſed them to apply to the Council of Ten, and deſire an audience; which being granted, one of them thus addreſſed himſelf to the Council. "We humbly truſt, Magnificent Lords, that you will give credit to our report, and compaſſionate our unhappy condition, when you ſhall have heard in what manner your commiſſary has ſeized upon our Country, and how we have been ſince treated by him. Our Vale, as the records of your city will amply teſtify, has ever been of the Guelph party, and often afforded a ſecure retreat to ſuch of your Citizens as fled to it from the perſecution of the Ghibelines. Both our anceſtors and ourſelves have at all times ſhewn the higheſt re-

gard for this renowned Commonwealth, as the head and ſupport of our party: and whilſt the Lucchese continued to avow the ſame principles, we voluntarily ſubmitted to their government: but ſince they are fallen under the dominion of a Tyrant who has forſaken his former allies, and gone over to the Ghibelines, we have obeyed him indeed, but it has been out of conſtraint, and not any good will or inclination of our own. We call God to witneſs how often we have prayed his Divine providence to give us an opportunity of ſhewing our affection to our ancient friends. But how fallacious are the hopes of men! what we thought would have been our redemption, has proved our utter ruin. For when we had intelligence that your Standard was advancing towards our Vale, we came out to meet the commiſſary, not as an enemy, but as a ſervant of our ancient maſters, and delivered up our Country, our fortunes, and our perſons into his hands, recommending ourſelves to his protection, upon a preſumption that he had the ſoul, if not of a Florentine, at leaſt of a man. But pardon our freedom, we beſeech you, Magnificent Lords, (ſince the reflection that our misfortunes are already ſo great that they cannot be increaſed, inſpires us with this degree of confidence) your commiſſary has nothing of a man but the ſhape, nor of a Florentine but the name. He is a Peſtilence, a wild Beaſt, and ſuch a monſter of luſt and cruelty, as was never let looſe upon any people before. For having drawn us all together into one of our Churches under the pretence of a conference, he firſt made us priſoners, and then carried fire and ſword through the whole Vale, plundering and murdering the men, violating the chaſtity of the married women, and tearing thoſe that were unmarried from the arms of their mothers, to deliver them up to the brutality of his mercileſs ſoldiers. If we had provoked him to theſe barbarities by any injury done either to himſelf or the Republic of Florence; or if we had ſo much as taken up arms in our own defence, we ſhould have

have had the leſs reaſon to complain; nay we ſhould have juſtly condemned ourſelves, for bringing them upon our own heads, and conſidered them as a puniſhment due to our arrogance. But as we deliverd up ourſelves, freely and unarmed, into his hands; to be afterwards treated in this inhuman manner, exceeds all patience and juſtifies our bitterest lamentations. And though we might have made not only Lombardy but every part of Italy ring with a recital of our ſorrows, to the great diſgrace of this city; we did not think ourſelves at liberty to do ſo however, for fear of ſtaining the reputation of ſo beneficent and honourable a Republic with an imputation of crimes committed by the malevolence and villany of a private ſubject; whoſe unexampled avarice (if we had known the man before) we would have endeavoured to ſatiate if poſſible (though indeed it ſeems to have no bounds) by ſacrificing one part of our eſtates, to preſerve the other; that ſo we might have eſcaped irretrievable ruin. But ſince that is now too late, and we have no refuge left to fly to but your compaſſion, we beſeech you, Magnificent Lords, to pity the miſerable condition of your poor and deſtitute ſubjects; leſt others hereafter may be deterred by our example from putting themſelves under your protection. If the greatneſs of our ſufferings is not ſufficient to move pity, let the fear of God's vengeance, however, excite you to puniſh the wretches who have ſo impiouſly dared to rifle and burn his churches, and to maſſacre the people, whom they had ſo baſely betrayed, before his very altars." And having thus ſaid, they threw themſelves at their feet, weeping and imploring them to cauſe their goods and eſtates to be reſtored; and ſince their honour could never be repaired, that they might at leaſt have the conſolation of ſeeing their wives returned to their huſbands, and their daughters to their parents.

The enormity of theſe facts, ſupported not only by common fame, but the teſtimony of the ſufferers themſelves, enflamed the Magiſtracy to ſuch a degree,

gree, that Astorre was not only recalled immediately, but asheered, and rendered for ever incapable of being employed again in the service of the Republic. A strict search was likewise made after the effects of the Sravezzans, and what could be found was restored to the owners; for the rest they were afterwards indemnified at the expence of the Republic.

Rimldo degli Albizi was also accused of carrying on the war in such a manner as tended only to his own private advantage, without any regard to that of the Commonwealth. They said, that after he was appointed commissary, he thought no more of the reduction of Lucca, but employed himself in plundering the Country to stock his own estate with the cattle, and furnish his house with the spoil of others. That he was not content with the booty he had amassed himself, but bought up all that had been taken by the common soldiers: so that instead of a commissary, he was become a Pawn-broker. These calumnies exceedingly mortified his pride, (for he was a haughty, though an honest and upright man) and raised his passions to such a height, as was not consistent with the character of his gravity and wisdom. He therefore took post full of rage and indignation against the Magistrates, and without waiting for their leave, immediately returned to Florence, and presented himself before the Council of Ten; whom he told without any ceremony or reserve, "that he well knew, how difficult and dangerous a thing it was, to serve an unbridled People, and a divided State; since the one was carried away with every rumour; the other, put a malicious interpretation upon actions that were doubtful, and always punished the evil, but never rewarded the good. So that if a commander succeeded in an expedition, he had no praise at all; if he was guilty of an error, his conduct was censured by the generality; but if he miscarried, he was sure to be condemned by every one: for in one case, his own party would envy his success, and his adversaries not fail to insult him in the other. That, however, he

he had never been discouraged by the fear of idle slander and undeserved reproach, from pursuing any undertaking, that he was convinced would be of real advantage to his Country. That indeed, the aspersions so unjustly thrown upon him at present, had overcome his patience and discomposed his usual temper. That he advised them to be more ready to defend the reputation of their servants for the future, if they expected to be cheerfully and effectually served by them: and since it was not the custom of the Florentines to honour their Citizens with Triumphs, it might be hoped at least they would protect them against calumny and unjust accusations. That they ought to remember that they themselves were likewise officers in the same Republic, and liable at any time to be traduced in the same vile manner, and then they would find how grievous such treatment was to men of honour and integrity."

Upon these remonstrances, the Council endeavoured to appease his resentment as much as they could at present; but gave the further care of conducting that expedition to Neri di Gino and Alamanno Salviati; who, instead of ravaging the Country, determined to advance directly to Lucca with their forces; which, as it was then very cold weather, had retired into winter quarters at Capannole. But the commissaries who designed to draw nearer, and invest the town without further loss of time, having ordered them to march out and encamp before it, the soldiers flatly refused to stir in that severe season of the year; tho' the Council of Ten had likewise sent them strict orders to advance, and said they would admit of no excuse.

There was at that time in Florence, one Philip Brunelleschi, a celebrated Painter and Architect, many of whose paintings and buildings are yet to be seen in Florence *: and for which the Citizens thought

* At length (says Voltaire) wealth and liberty excited the genius as well as the courage of the nation. In Florence Brunelleschi began them-

themſelves ſo much obliged to him, that after his death, they erected a marble ſtatue to his memory in the principal Church, with an inſcription upon it ſetting forth his great merit and excellency in thoſe arts. This Philip having reconnoitred the courſe of the river Serchio and the ſituation of Lucca, informed the Council of Ten, that he would undertake to lay that city under water; and ſo far convinced them of the practicability of his deſign, that they gave him a Commiſſion to put it in execution. But this project had a very different effect, and occaſioned ſuch diſorder amongſt the Florentine troops that it ſaved the city. For the Lucchese being aware of it, immediately threw up a ſtrong bank, quite acroſs the meadows through which they were diverting the current of the River upon them. After which, they cut a ſluice one night in the bank of the Channel which the enemy had made; through which the water preſently took its courſe, and being oppoſed by the Dam, began to riſe in ſuch a manner upon the plain above, where the Florentine army had at laſt encamped, that inſtead of advancing any further, they were forced to raiſe their Camp and abandon the enterprize for that time.

This expedition having proved unſucceſsful, the new Council of Ten which had lately been appointed, ſent Giovanni Guicciardini to ſuperſede the late com-

to revive the ancient taſte of Architecture. Giotto was remarkable for his Paintings, and Boccaccio aſcertained the Italian language. Guido of Arezzo invented the new method of muſical notes. In Petrarch and Dante there is a great number of paſſages wherein we admire the vigour of the Ancients joined to the freſhneſs of the moderns. What gave modern Rome ſome ſuperiority over the ancient, was the Cupola of St. Peter's. There were only three antique monuments of this kind extant in the world; part of the dome of the temple of Minerva at Athens, the dome of the Pantheon at Rome, and that of the great Moſque at Conſtantinople, formerly St. Sophia's, built by Juſtinian. But theſe Cupolas, though ſufficiently raiſed on the inſide, were too flat without. Brunelleſchi, the reſtorer of Architecture in Italy in the fifteenth century, remedied this defect in the cathedral of Florence, by building two Cupolas one within the other; but thoſe Cupolas had ſomething of the Gothic, and were not in juſt proportion. Vol. ii. part iii. p. 5. and Vol. iii. part vi. p. 104.

miſſaries;

miſſaries; who ſat down with his army as near the town as he could. The Lord of Lucca therefore, ſeeing himſelf cloſely beſieged, ſent Sylveſtro Trenta and Ludovico Bonviſi to ſollicit relief from the Duke of Milan, by the advice of Antonio del Roſſo, who at that time reſided with him as envoy from the Republic of Siena. But theſe Deputies finding him unwilling to ſend any ſuccour to their maſter, aſſured him privately in their own name and that of the people of Lucca, that if he would ſend a body of troops to their aſſiſtance, they would ſeize upon the Tyrant, and deliver both him and the town into his hands: but if he did not, the Tyrant would certainly give up the town to the Florentines, who had offered him very advantageous terms. This ſuggeſtion wrought ſo effectually upon the Duke, that he immediately laid aſide all reſerve, and ordered Count Franciſco Sforza, his General, publickly to demand a paſſage for his troops through the territories of Lucca, into the Kingdom of Naples: which being granted, he advanced with them to Lucca; though the Florentines, who ſaw through his deſign, ſent to deſire their common friend Boccacino Alamanni, to diſſuade him from it. But upon the arrival of Sforza at Lucca, they withdrew their forces to Librafatta, and the other went to lay ſiege to Peſcia, of which Paolo da Diacetto was then Governor; but he baſely abandoned it and fled to Piſtoia; ſo that if it had not been better defended by Giovanni Malavolti, Commander of the Garriſon there, it muſt have fallen into the enemy's hands. The Count, however, not being able to carry it by aſſault, marched away to Buggiano, which he took, and burnt the Caſtle of Stiliano, a neighbouring fortreſs. Upon which, the Florentines not a little chagrined at theſe devaſtations, reſolved to have recourſe to a remedy that had often been of great ſervice to them in times of danger and diſtreſs; knowing by experience, that mercenary ſoldiers might generally be corrupted, when they could not otherwiſe be oppoſed. For this purpoſe, they offered the Count

Count a ſum of money, provided he would give Lucca up to them and quit the Country: and the Count finding he was not likely to ſqueeze any great matter out of the Lucchefe, ſoon began to lend an ear to thoſe that could better feed his avarice. He therefore agreed with the Florentines, not abſolutely to deliver Lucca into their hands, which he could not for ſhame comply with, but to draw his forces from it, upon payment of fifty thouſand Ducats. After which treaty, in order to engage the Lucchefe to excuſe his proceedings to the Duke, he determined to aſſiſt them in depoſing their Tyrant.

Antonio del Roſſo, the Sieneſe envoy, was then in Lucca, as we have ſaid before; and by the Duke's authority began to enter into meaſures with the Citizens for that purpoſe: the principal of whom were Pietro Cennami and Giovanni da Chivizano. And this they did the more freely, as Lanzilao the Tyrant's Son, was then with Sforza, who lay encamped upon the banks of the Serchio, at a little diſtance from the town. The Conſpirators therefore, taking arms, to the number of forty, went directly to Guinigi's houſe in the dead of the night; who being awaked by the noiſe they made, came down to them trembling and frighted, and deſired to know what they wanted. To which Cennami made anſwer, "that, as they had been ſo long oppreſſed by him within the walls, and reduced to ſuch ſtraits by an enemy without, that they were every day in danger of periſhing either by famine or the ſword, they were now reſolved to govern themſelves; and therefore demanded the Keys and treaſure of the city to be delivered to them." Guinigi replied, "that the treaſure was all ſpent, but the keys and himſelf were at their ſervice: that he hoped however, as his reign had both begun and been continued till that time without blood, there would be none ſhed at the concluſion of it." Upon which ſubmiſſion his life was ſpared for that time: but Sforza took both him and his Son along with him to the

the Duke at Milan, where they died not long afr in prison.

At the departure of the Count, the Lucchese ing freed from the yoke of their Tyrant, and the Flrentines from the fear of the Duke's forces; onside began to prepare for their defence, and the othr to renew hostilities. The latter having appointed the Count of Urbino their Commander in chief, laid close siege to the town, and reduced the Lucnese to such extremities, that they were obliged to rake fresh application to the Duke, who under the ame pretext that he had before sent Count Sforza, ow sent Niccolo Piccinino to their succour. But the Florentines resolving to dispute his passage ove the Serchio, as he was advancing to relieve the tn, came to an engagement with him upon the banks of the River; in which they received so great an overthrow, that only the commissary and a very few of his men escaped the hands of the enemy, and fled to Pisa. This defeat threw the city of Florence into the utmost consternation; and as the expedition had been undertaken almost by general consent, the people not knowing against whom else to turn their rage, began to abuse those that had conducted the war (since they could not well tell how to blame those who by their own instigation had first advised it) and revived their old calumnies against Rinaldo degli Albizi. But the person whom they fell upon with the greatest virulence was Giovanni Guicciardini, who, they said, might easily have put an end to the war after the departure of Count Sforza, if he had not been bribed: nay, they went so far as to charge him with sending a horse-load of money to his own house, and particularly mentioned the names both of those that carried, and those that received it. These clamours and accusations made such a noise, that the Captain of the People could not help taking cognizance of so public a charge; especially as he was likewise importunately called upon so to do by Giovanni's enemies. Having cited him therefore to clear himself of this impu-

defeat.

Rinaldo

imputation, he made his appearance, but with much feeing indignation, and contempt of their malice, anc his relations exerted themſelves ſo ſtrenuouſly forthe honour of their family, that the Captain was obbed to ſtop all further proceedings againſt him.

The Lucchefe after their late victory not only recovered the towns they had loſt, but poſſeſſed themſeles of all the territories of Piſa, except Bientina, Cacinaia, Livorno (or Leghorn) and Librafatta: and if conſpiracy had not been diſcovered, which was fomed in Piſa, that city would alſo have been loſt amonſt the reſt. The Florentines however recruited ther army, and put it under the Command of Michdetto *, who had been bred up under Sforza. The Duke on the other hand, did not fail to purſue his advantage; and in order to defeat all future attempts of the Florentines more effectually, he prevailed upon the Genoeſe, the Sieneſe, and the Lord of Piombino, to enter into a league for the defence of Lucca and to take Piccinino into their pay: which laſt circumſtance ſo plainly diſcovered his deſigns, that the Florentines likewiſe renewed their confederacy with the Venetians. Upon this, open hoſtilities were immediately commenced in Lombardy and Tuſcany, where the war was carried on, and ſeveral ſkirmiſhes enſued with various ſucceſs on each ſide: till at laſt they were both ſo tired, that a general Peace was
1433 concluded in the Month of May 1433: by which it was agreed, that whatſoever towns had been taken by the Florentines, Lucchefe and Sieneſe ſhould be mutually reſtored to their former poſſeſſors.

Cosimo During the courſe of this war abroad, the factious humours began to ferment again at home; and Coſimo de' Medici, after the deceaſe of Giovanni, began to act with greater ſpirit in public affairs, and with more openneſs and zeal for the good of his friends, than ever his father had done: ſo that thoſe that rejoiced at the death of Giovanni, were not a little

* The ſurname is wanting.

damped

damped at the proceedings of his Son. Cosimo, was a man of very great prudence, of a sedate and agreeable countenance, exceeding liberal and humane: never entering into any measures that would be pernicious to the State, or even the party that he opposed; but taking all opportunities of doing good to every one, and of conciliating to himself the affections of his fellow Citizens by his goodness and generosity. So noble an example of benevolence, greatly increased the hatred which the public had already conceived against the governing party, and at the same time was the best method he thought he could take, to enable himself either to live with reputation and security in Florence, or to get the better of any persecution that the malice of his enemies might raise against him, by the interest he had with the people, and even, if necessary, by force of arms. There were two Citizens that contributed more than any of the rest to promote this interest, whose names were Averardo de' Medici, and Puccio de' Pucci: the one by his boldness and activity, the other by his great wisdom and experience, which added much reputation to his party. And indeed the judgment and authority of the latter were so generally revered, that he gave name to the party, which was not called Cosimo's, but Puccio's party.

In this divided state of the City, the expedition against Lucca was undertaken; which, instead of extinguishing the rage of faction, still added fuel to it. For though Puccio's party had promoted and advised a war, yet those of the other side were chiefly employed in conducting it, as they had greater power in the government. And since Averardo de' Medici and his friends could not by any means prevent this, they took every opportunity of defaming them and calumniating their actions: so that when they met with any misfortune (as they did with several) it was not imputed to the superior strength or better management of the enemy, but to the misconduct and imprudence of the Commissary. This was the occasion

caſion that the enormities committed by Aſtorre Gianni, though very great indeed of themſelves, were ſtill exaggerated. It was this ſort of treatment that provoked Rinaldo degli Albizi to ſuch a degree, that he left his command without permiſſion. This was the true cauſe of Giovanni Guicciardini being cited to appear before the Captain of the People. From hence proceeded all the charges and complaints that were exhibited againſt other Magiſtrates and Commiſſaries: and whilſt thoſe that had any foundation were always aggravated, and ſometimes ſupported by downright falſehood, the people greedily ſwallowed all, whether true or falſe, out of the hatred they bore to them. And though Niccolò da Uzzano and the other heads of that party, were ſufficiently aware of theſe baſe artifices, and had ſeveral private meetings to conſider of proper means to prevent the effect of them, yet they could not fix upon any expedient. It was very dangerous, they knew, to connive at them, and not leſs ſo to proceed to open violence. Uzzano himſelf was averſe to any remedies of that kind. But Niccolò Barbadori, ſeeing they were harraſſed in this manner with war abroad, and faction at home, took an opportunity of going one day to viſit him at his own houſe, where he found him very thoughtful and alone in his ſtudy; and as he himſelf wiſhed to ſee the ruin of Coſimo, he left no method untried to prevail upon Uzzano to join with Rinaldo degli Albizi to drive him out of the City.

Uzzano

After ſome pauſe, Uzzano replied, "It would be much better for yourſelf and your family too, Barbadori, and for the Commonwealth in general, if both you and all others that propoſe ſuch meaſures, had * beards of ſilver inſtead of gold, as your name

* Barba d'oro, in the Italian, ſignifies *a beard of gold.* This is therefore one of thoſe little puns, or *concetti*, from which the very beſt authors that wrote in Machiavel's time, and long after, are not altogether free. They were not peculiar to Italy; for we find them ſcattered in great plenty (the more is the pity) through the works of the firſt rate Genius's of our own country.

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imports: for then every one might hope for wise and wholesome counsel from grey hairs and long experience. Common prudence, however, I should think, would be sufficient to induce those that advise the expulsion of Cosimo, in the first place, to compare their own strength with his. Our party, it seems, is now distinguished by the name of the Nobility, and the other, by that of the Plebeians. And supposing there was any just reason for that distinction, success in such an undertaking would still appear very dubious; and we ought rather to fear the worst, than hope for any good from it, when we remember the fate of the ancient Nobility of this City, who at last were utterly suppressed in their contests with the Plebeians. And we have still fewer advantages on our side than they had: for our party is divided, whilst that of our adversaries is compact and entire. Neri di Gino and Nerone di Nigi, two of the chief men in the City, have not yet declared themselves, and it is uncertain what side they will take. Several families are divided amongst themselves; and many there are that hate us, and favour our adversaries, merely out of envy or malice to their own brothers, or some other near relations. Some of the most considerable of whom, I shall mention; the rest will naturally occur to your own memory and observation. Amongst the sons of Maso degli Albizi, Luca, out of hatred to Rinaldo, is gone over to the other side. In the family of the Guicciardini, Pietro, the son of Luigi, is a mortal enemy to his brother Giovanni, and joins our adversaries. Tomaso and Niccolò Soderini openly oppose us out of picque to their uncle Francisco. So that if we consider the quality of those that constitute their party, and of whom our own consists, I see no reason why one should be called the Nobility in preference to the other. If it is because they are followed by the whole body of the Plebeians; that very circumstance makes them so much superior to us, that if ever we come to an open trial of our strength, we shall not be able to stand

before them. And if we ſtill continue in poſſeſſion of the firſt places in the Commonwealth, it is entirely owing to the eſtabliſhed credit of an adminiſtration, which has now ſupported itſelf for the ſpace of fifty years. But if things ſhould come to extremities, and our preſent weakneſs be diſcovered, you may depend upon it, we ſhould be forced out of the Magiſtracy, perhaps to our utter deſtruction. If it be ſaid, that the juſtice of our cauſe will increaſe our reputation, and diminiſh that of our enemies; I anſwer, that it is neceſſary the people ſhould firſt be convinced, that it really is a juſt one: and how can that be done, ſince it muſt plainly appear, that the motives of our proceedings are founded merely upon a jealouſy that Coſimo may attempt to uſurp a ſovereignty over this Republic. If we entertain ſuch ſuſpicions of him ourſelves, others are ſo far from doing it, that they accuſe us of thoſe very deſigns with which we charge him. What reaſon is there for theſe apprehenſions, they will ſay, except that he freely lends money to every one that wants it; not only to private people, but to the public, upon any exigency, and to foreigners as well as Florentines; that he is a friend to ſuch as ſtand in need of protection; or becauſe he ſometimes helps to advance an acquaintance to a reputable employment in the Commonwealth, by the intereſt which his univerſal benevolence has gained him amongſt the people? What then ſhall we be able to plead as an excuſe for endeavouring to expel him the City? Shall we accuſe him of being charitable, friendly, liberal, and beloved by every one? Tell me, I pray you, what law prohibits or condemns charity, liberality, and beneficence. Indeed theſe virtues are ſometimes counterfeited to cajole the vulgar, by ſuch as aſpire to dominion; but they do not appear in that light at preſent, nor is it in our power to make them; we have loſt our reputation by our late miſconduct; and a people naturally prone to faction, and corrupted by continual diviſions, will no longer put any confidence

in us, or give credit to ſuch accuſations. But ſuppoſe we ſhould ſucceed ſo far as to get him baniſhed (which indeed might poſſibly be done if the Signiory would concur in it) how ſhould we prevent his return, when he has ſo many powerful friends left in the City, who would never reſt till they had got him recalled? This would be to no purpoſe therefore, whilſt his intereſt is ſo great, and the remembrance of his benevolence ſo freſh upon the minds of the people; and the more we ſhould baniſh of his declared friends, the more we ſhould augment the number of our own ſecret enemies. So that when he returned, as he certainly would do in a ſhort time, we ſhould find, that we had done nothing more, than baniſh a good man, and bring back a bad one, as his diſpoſition would be altered by thoſe that had procured his reſtoration; to whom he would think himſelf under ſuch obligations, that he could not oppoſe them in any thing. But, if it is intended to put him to death in a judicial manner, that can never be effected; for as he is rich, and the magiſtracy corrupt, he will be ſure to eſcape all puniſhment. But let us ſuppoſe he ſhould be condemned, or perhaps never return from exile; I cannot perceive what the Commonwealth would gain by that: for no ſooner will it be free from the apprehenſions it was under from Coſimo, but it will be liable to the ſame from Rinaldo. For my own part, I am one of thoſe that never deſire to ſee one Citizen exceed another in authority. And if one of theſe two muſt ſeize the reins, I know not any reaſon that ſhould induce me to prefer Rinaldo to Coſimo. I have nothing further to add, but that I pray God to preſerve this City from ever falling under the dominion of any one man; but, if a time ſhould ever come when our ſins ſhall bring that judgment upon us, I pray ſtill more earneſtly, that we may not become ſubject to Rinaldo. Let me exhort you, therefore, not to perſiſt in a deſign that is every way ſo full of danger, nor to imagine that you ſhall be able to get the better of the multi-

tude by the co-operation of ſo few aſſiſtants as you will have: for take my word for it, the far greater part of the Citizens, ſome out of ſtupidity, and others out of malice, are thoroughly diſpoſed to ſell their country; and fortune has been ſo favourable to them as to provide a purchaſer. Take my advice then for once; endeavour to live quietly; and as to any invaſion of our liberties, be aſſured, that you have as much to apprehend from our own party, as the other. When troubles ariſe, take no ſide *, for by ſtanding neuter, you will be upon good terms with every one, and advantage yourſelf, without prejudicing your Country."

Cosimo

Theſe diſſuaſions, in ſome meaſure, cooled Barbadori's reſolution: ſo that the City continued tolerably quiet, till the war with Lucca was over. But a peace being concluded, and Uzzano dying ſoon after, there was nobody left of ſufficient authority to ſuppreſs the ill humours that began to ſhew themſelves again without reſerve, when all reſtraint was at an end. Rinaldo degli Albizi in particular, who now looked upon himſelf as the Head of that party, was continually teazing and importuning ſuch Citizens as

* "It is a man's duty, ſaid a celebrated but unhappy Prelate of our Church, to keep himſelf always from embarking in parties and factions, and falling with vehemence into all the intereſts and deſigns of them. This will neceſſarily, in time, embitter his ſpirits, and ſour his humour, make him like and diſlike men implicity, and lead him into many reſentments which he hath nothing to do with." Biſhop Atterbury's Sermons, publiſhed by Dr. Moore, vol. ii. p. 335. This paſſage occurs in that upon Rom. xii. 18. The author of Dr. Aſheton's Life (an eminent Divine, who died at the beginning of this century) ſays, p. 39. "That he had narrowly obſerved the conduct of all parties in every reign, during the courſe of his life: that he ſaw the madneſs of the people, and how deſigning men can ſeduce them to proclaim Hoſannas at one time, and demand crucifixion at another: that he was aware of the mean ſelfiſhneſs, ambition, and violence of the beſt parties; which gave him the ſame idea of parties in general; and conſequently was ſenſible of the expedience of thoſe precautions recommended by Archbiſhop Dawes, in his Sermon upon the 30th of January, "That we ought to take care not to liſt ourſelves as thorough members of any party."—It is no extraordinary thing, ſays a very celebrated author, to ſee perſons die in that party, which they declared for, at the riſe of a faction, or the beginning of a revolution.

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he thought were likely to be the next Gonfaloniers, to take up arms and deliver their Country out of the hands of a man, who, taking the advantage of the ſtupidity of ſome, and the malice of others, would certainly enſlave it. Thus Rinaldo, by endeavouring to ſupplant his adverſaries, and they to ſupport themſelves, kept the whole City in continual alarm and ſuſpicion: ſo that when new magiſtrates were appointed, it was preſently known how many there were on one ſide, and how many on the other: and at the Imborſations for the Signiory, there was nothing to be ſeen but tumult and uproar. Every trifling affair that was brought before the Magiſtracy, created a diviſion amongſt them: all ſecrets were divulged; they had no regard to juſtice; the good and the evil were treated alike; and there was not ſo much as one Magiſtrate that did his duty.

The City being in this confuſion, and Rinaldo impatient to lower the authority of Coſimo; conſidering with himſelf that Bernardo Guadagni (though a man very fit for his purpoſe) could not be admitted to the office of Gonfalonier, even if his name ſhould be drawn, except the arrears he was in to the public were firſt diſcharged, he paid them himſelf. And as fortune (the conſtant enemy of our City) would have it, in the Imborſation for a new Signiory, Bernardo was actually drawn Gonfalonier for the two enſuing months of September and October. Upon which, Rinaldo immediately went to congratulate him, and told him, how much the Nobility, and all honeſt men who deſired to live in peace and ſecurity, were rejoiced to ſee him in poſſeſſion of that dignity; and that it was hoped he would behave himſelf in ſuch a manner as would give them no cauſe to repent of it. He then repreſented to him the danger they were in from their diviſions; that the ſureſt way to reſtore union amongſt them, was to rid themſelves of Coſimo, who was the only man that ſtood in their way: that the popularity he had gained by his immenſe riches, had given him ſuch an aſcendancy, that, if

timely care was not taken to prevent it, he would certainly make himſelf abſolute Lord over them: and therefore it was his duty, as a good Citizen, to provide againſt the danger, by calling the people together in the Piazza, to reinſtate the adminiſtration in its former power, and ſecure the liberties of his Country. He deſired him to remember the example of Sylveſtro de' Medici, who (even without any appearance of juſtice on his ſide) was able to check the over-grown power of the Guelphs, though they certainly had the faireſt claim to govern the city, as a reward for the blood which their anceſtors had ſo generouſly ſhed for the defence of it: and that what he alone could effect without any juſt pretenſions, and in ſpite of ſo many powerful adverſaries, might ſurely be done again in a juſt cauſe, and when there was but one man to oppoſe them. He exhorted him to act with vigour and reſolution, as all his friends would immediately take arms to ſupport him; to make no account of the mob (though they ſeemed to adore Coſimo at preſent) for in time of need, he would be ſerved by them juſt as Georgio Scali had been formerly: nor to ſtand in awe of his riches; for when once he was in the power of the Signiory, his wealth would fall into their hands. He concluded, with ſaying, that when this was done, the Republic would become united and ſecure, and his own reputation eſtabliſhed for ever." Bernardo made anſwer in a few words, "that he was fully convinced of the expedience and neceſſity of what he had urged: but as it was high time to proceed to execution, he deſired him to prepare their friends to take arms as ſoon as poſſible, ſince he was perſuaded they ſhould be ſo well ſupported."

As ſoon as Bernardo had entered upon his office, their friends being in readineſs, and every thing ſettled betwixt him and Rinaldo, he ſummoned Coſimo to appear before the Signiory; which he did, truſting rather to his own innocence, than to their mercy; though he was diſſuaded from it by many. But he was

was hardly got into the palace, before he was arrested. Upon which, Rinaldo instantly sallied out of his house, with a body of armed men, and all the rest of the party at his heels, and came into the Piazza; where the Signiory assembled the people, and appointed a Balia, consisting of two hundred Citizens, to reform the State. The first thing that was debated, after they met to consider of a reformation, was, whether Cosimo should be put to death or not. Some argued for it, others thought banishment sufficient, and many sat silent, either out of affection to him, or fear of the other party: so that in such a diversity of opinions, nothing was determined upon.

In the turret of the palace there is an apartment, called Alberghettino, to which Cosimo was committed prisoner, under the custody of Frederigo Malavolti. From this place he could hear the clamours of the armed men that were below in the Piazza, and frequent outcries for a Balia; which made him apprehend that his life was in danger, but much more, that his particular enemies would take some extraordinary method to dispatch him. For that reason, he would eat no meat for the space of four days, except a mouthful or two of bread. Of which Malavolti taking notice, addressed himself to him in this manner: "Whilst you are afraid of being poisoned, you will starve yourself to death, to my great dishonour; for certainly you must have a vile opinion of me, to suspect I would be concerned in so base a deed. In my opinion, your life is not in any danger, as you have so many friends both within the palace and without it: but if there is any such design in agitation, you may assure yourself I will not be employed as an executioner, nor ever stain my hands with the blood of any man, much less yours, who never did me any injury. Take courage then, eat your meat, and keep yourself alive for the good of your friends and your country: and that you may have no further suspicion of that kind, I will eat with you myself." Upon this encouragement, Cosimo embraced

braced him with tears in his eyes, acknowledging his generosity and gentleman-like behaviour in the most thankful manner, and assuring him, he would amply recompence his kindnesses, if ever fortune should put it in his power again to shew his gratitude.

His apprehensions therefore being in some measure quieted, and his fate yet undetermined by the Balia, it happened that Malavolti, to entertain his prisoner, invited one Farganaccio a friend of the Gonfalonier's, and a man of humour and pleasantry, to sup with him. Upon which, after supper was almost over, Cosimo hoping to make some advantage of this visit (as he himself was well acquainted with him) gave a hint to Malavolti to leave the room, who, pretty well guessing at his intention, immediately went out to order something that was wanting, as he pretended. When they were alone, Cosimo after many fair words and promises of a greater reward, gave his guest a draught upon the Governor of St. Mary's new Hospital for eleven hundred ducats, desiring him to keep an hundred himself, and to present the other thousand to the Gonfalonier, from whom, he said, he should be glad to receive the favour of a visit, if he could find a proper opportunity. This he willingly undertook to perform, and gave the money to Bernardo, who then began to grow cooler and more moderate in the prosecution: so that after all, Cosimo was only banished to Padua, though Rinaldo used his utmost endeavours to have him put to death. Averardo de' Medici and many others of that family were likewise banished at the same time, and with them Puccio and Giovanni de' Pucci. And to keep those in still greater awe that seemed dissatisfied at Cosimo's exile, the Balia was reduced to eight (who were called wardens) and the Captain of the people. After these regulations, Cosimo was brought before the Signiory, on the third of October in the year 1433, who pronounced the sentence of banishment upon him, and exhorted him to submit to it with patience, lest he should provoke them to proceed with greater rigour

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both againſt his perſon and eſtate. He received the ſentence with a chearful countenance, and aſſured them he would ſtay with content wherever they ſhould be pleaſed to ſend him; praying them however, as they had ſpared his life, that they would protect his perſon, ſince he knew there were ſome in the Palace that thirſted after his blood. He then took his leave of them with ſaying, "that in what part of the world ſoever he ſhould ſojourn, his perſon and fortune ſhould always be at the ſervice of the Republic, the People, and the Signiory." In anſwer to which, the Gonfalonier told him "he would take care his life ſhould be in no danger;" and having detained him in the Palace till night, he then conducted him to his own houſe to ſup with him, and afterwards ordered a party of the guards to eſcort him to the confines of the Florentine dominions. Wherever he came he was received with great honour, and publicly viſited by the Venetians, who treated him not as an exile, but as a perſon of the firſt rank and conſequence in the State.

Florence being thus deprived of ſo great a man, and ſo univerſally beloved, both parties had their apprehenſions: Rinaldo therefore, who ſaw a ſtorm riſing, reſolved not to be wanting either to himſelf or his friends: and having called ſeveral of them together, he told them, they had now ruined themſelves, as they would ſoon find, beyond all redemption, by giving way to the tears, ſupplications, and bribes of their enemies, not foreſeeing that it would quickly be their own turn to weep and implore compaſſion from thoſe who would be deaf to entreaties and tears: that they would be forced to refund the principal ſum of the bribes they had taken, with the heavy intereſt of tortures, executions, and baniſhments. That it would have been much better for them to have remained content in their former circumſtances, than to ſuffer Coſimo to eſcape with life, and leave ſo many of his friends in Florence; as great men ought either never to be provoked, or, if they are,

are, to be entirely crushed. That he saw no remedy now left but to collect their strength and fortify themselves; that so, when their enemies should rise upon them (which was daily to be expected) they might be able to clear the city of them by dint of force, since, it seemed, they could not do it in a judiciary manner. That for this purpose, they must endeavour to regain the affections of the Grandees by restoring them to their honours and authority (as he had often advised) and to strengthen themselves by their assistance, as the other party had done by that of the Plebeians. That by such a junction they should considerably increase their strength, and might possibly recover their former power and reputation: but if this last and only expedient was not made use of, he knew of no other, for his part, that could preserve them, and indeed the Republic itself, from the imminent ruin it was threatened with amidst so many enemies." In answer to this, Mariotto Boldovinetti said, "that the insolence and tyranny of the Grandees, always had been, and always would be insupportable: and that it would be madness to run headlong into a certain and slavish subjection to them, when the danger that was apprehended from the Plebeians might only be imaginary." Rinaldo therefore seeing his advice rejected, could not help lamenting the misfortunes that he foresaw were going to fall upon himself and his party; but modestly imputed them rather to the malevolence of their destiny, than to the blindness and perverseness of men.

Whilst things were in this situation and no manner of provision made for their security, a letter was intercepted from Agnolo Acciaivoli to Cosimo, in which he informed him of the good disposition of the Citizens in general towards him, and advised him to stir up a war from some quarter or other, and to make Neri di Gino his friend; as he thought the people would then be in want of money to carry it on, and finding no body else that was able to supply them, they would naturally turn their thoughts upon him,

him, and be ſo much the more impatient for his return. To which he added, "that if Neri could by any means be detached from Rinaldo, his party would be ſo much weakened that it would not be able to ſupport him." But this letter falling into the hands of the Magiſtrates, Agnolo was taken into cuſtody, and afterwards brought to a trial, and ſent into baniſhment; which in ſome meaſure reſtrained the ardour of thoſe that favoured Coſimo.

It was now almoſt a year ſince Coſimo had been baniſhed; and at the end of Auguſt 1434, Niccolo di Cocco was drawn Gonfalonier for the two next months, and with him eight new Signiors, all friends to Coſimo; at which Rinaldo and his party were not a little alarmed. And as, according to cuſtom, the new Signiory could not enter upon their office till three days after they were drawn, Rinaldo once more applied to the other chiefs of his party, and repreſented to them the certainty and nearneſs of the danger they were in, and that there was no reſource left but to take arms immediately and oblige Donato Velluti, who was then Gonfalonier, to aſſemble the people in the Piazza, to appoint another Balia, and depoſe the new Signiory: after which, they might get others drawn more fit for their purpoſe, by burning the old Imborſation, and making a freſh one, in which the purſes might be filled only with the names of their friends. This reſolution was thought proper and abſolutely neceſſary by many; and by others too violent and odious. Amongſt thoſe that diſapproved it, was Palla Strozzi, a man of a peaceable and humane diſpoſition, and rather given to ſtudy than inclined to concern himſelf in the intrigues of faction. He ſaid, "that all ſchemes that were either too finely ſpun, or too bold, appeared likely to ſucceed at firſt ſight, but generally proved difficult in the management, and pernicious in the end. That he thought the fear of new enemies abroad (as the Duke's army was then in Romagna and near their confines) ſhould make the Signiory turn their attention to them, rather

ther than buſy themſelves in domeſtic feuds: that however, if they ſhould actually ſee any ſteps taken to raiſe a commotion (which could not well be without their notice) it would then be time enough to take arms, and make ſuch regulations as ſhould ſeem neceſſary for the public ſafety, which being done for their own defence, would alſo occaſion leſs wonder and diſguſt amongſt the people." It was therefore reſolved to let the new Signiory enter peaceably upon the Magiſtracy; but to keep a ſtrict watch upon their conduct, and if they ſhould attempt any thing to the prejudice of their party, then to riſe immediately and aſſemble in the Piazza of St. Pulinare (a place near the Palace) from whence they might proceed to act as occaſion ſhould require.

With this reſolution they parted; and the new Signiory having taken poſſeſſion of the Palace, the Gonfalonier, to begin his office with ſome action that would give him reputation and ſtrike a damp into ſuch as might think of oppoſing him, immediately committed his predeceſſor Donato Velluti to priſon, upon a pretence that he had embezzled the public money. After which, he began to ſound the reſt of his aſſociates about Coſimo's return; and finding them well diſpoſed to it, he communicated their deſign to thoſe that were reputed the Heads of the Medici party; who all encouraging him to attempt it, he cited Rinaldo degli Albizi, Ridolpho Peruzzi, and Niccolo Barbadori, as the principals of the other party, to appear before him. But Rinaldo ſeeing there was no more time now to be loſt, inſtead of obeying the citation, ruſhed out of his houſe with a great number of armed men, and was inſtantly joined by Peruzzi and Barbadori with ſeveral other Citizens and many diſbanded Soldiers that were then in Florence, and drew up in the Piazza of St. Pulinare, as they had before agreed. And though Palla Strozzi and Giovanni Guicciardini had aſſembled a good many men, they did not think proper to ſtir out of their houſes; upon which, Rinaldo ſent to haſten

them

them and upbraid their tardineſs. But Guicciardini ſent him word back again, that he thought he ſhould do his party better ſervice by ſtaying at home and preventing his brother Pietro from going to the relief of the Signiory: and Strozzi after many preſſing meſſages, at laſt came to St. Pulinare on horſeback; but with only two attendants on foot, and all three without any arms. When Rinaldo ſaw him come in that manner, he could not help reproaching him bitterly with his backwardneſs to join his friends; as he ſaid, "it muſt be owing either to perfidy or cowardice, the very appearance of both which ought to be moſt carefully avoided by ſuch a man as he pretended to be. That if he thought to eſcape death or exile, in caſe their enemies ſhould get the upper hand of them, by not fulfilling his engagement with his party, he would find himſelf fatally diſappointed. That for his own part, let what would happen, he ſhould at leaſt have this conſolation, that he had done his duty, not only in warning them of the danger before hand, but in preſcribing remedies to prevent it, and laſtly, by behaving himſelf like a man when it did come: that, on the contrary, he and his truſty companions muſt ſurely reflect with horror, that they had betrayed their country three different times: firſt in letting Coſimo eſcape; next, in not liſtening to his advice; and now, in not ſupporting him in the manner they had promiſed." To this Strozzi muttered ſomething by way of anſwer, but in ſuch a manner that it was not underſtood by the reſt; and turning his horſe about, he rode directly back again to his own houſe.

The Signiory being informed that Rinaldo and his party had taken arms, and ſeeing themſelves unable to make head againſt them, cauſed the doors of the Palace to be barricadoed, as they knew not what other courſe to take in ſo ſudden an emergency. But as Rinaldo ſtaid waiting to be joined by others who never came near him, inſtead of advancing immediately to the Palace, as he ought to have done, he loſt his

his opportunity, and gave the Signiory time to provide for their defence. Upon which, many of the Citizens reſorted to them, and adviſed them in the firſt place to uſe their endeavours to prevail upon the other party to lay down their arms. They ſent ſuch of their friends therefore, as were leaſt obnoxious, to acquaint Rinaldo and thoſe that were with him, "that they could not conceive what was the cauſe of ſuch a commotion; eſpecially, as they had never deſigned to do them any injury: that if it was upon Coſimo's account, they could aſſure them they had no thoughts of recalling him; for which they would give them any ſecurity, if they would come into the Palace; where they ſhould be honourably received, and have ſatisfaction in all other reſpects." Theſe promiſes, however, made but little impreſſion on Rinaldo, who ſaid, he would take care to ſecure himſelf by turning them all out of their offices, and then the State ſhould be reformed in a manner that would be more for the advantage of every one. But it ſeldom happens that any deſign ſucceeds, where the authority of the conductors is equal, and their opinions different. Ridolpho Peruzzi replied, "that for his part, he deſired nothing more than that Coſimo might not be ſuffered to return: and ſince that had been promiſed, he was very well contented, and inſtead of inſiſting upon any thing further, which might involve the city in blood and confuſion, he would accept of the invitation which the Signiory had given him;" as he immediately did, and went with all thoſe that had followed him, directly into the Palace, where he was joyfully received. So that all hope of ſucceſs being defeated by the delay of Rinaldo at St. Pulinare, the puſillanimity of Strozzi, and the deſertion of Peruzzi, the reſt of the party began to loſe their ſpirits and grew much cooler in the undertaking than they had been at firſt: to which the interpoſition of the Pope's authority did likewiſe very much contribute.

Euge-

Eugenius IV. having been driven out of Rome by the people, was then at Florence *; and seeing these tumults, he thought it his duty to compose them, if possible. For this purpose, he sent Giovanni Vitelleschi, the Patriarch of Alexandria, who was intimately acquainted with Rinaldo, to desire he might speak with him, as he hoped he had credit and authority enough with the Signiory to procure him all reasonable security and satisfaction, without effusion of blood, or prejudice to any of the Citizens. Upon which Rinaldo, at the persuasion of his friend, went with all his followers to wait upon his Holiness at St. Maria Novella, where he at that time resided. After he was introduced into his presence, the Pope informed him that the Signiory had given him their word that all differences should be left to his arbi-

* Philip, Duke of Milan, having made an incursion into the Pope's territories, the cavalry which he sent thither, were commanded by Niccolo Fortebraccio, who had quitted the Pope's service in disgust: for when he demanded his pay, Eugenius answered, "that he ought to think himself amply paid by the booty he had amassed in plundering several towns." Exasperated at this answer, he went into the Duke's service, and being employed by him against this Pope, he made such dreadful havock in the places adjacent to Rome, that the whole City was in the utmost consternation, and the Pope himself for some time in doubt whither to retire. The people resorted to him in crowds, to complain of the losses they had sustained: but, as he was then in an ill state of health, and did not know which way to turn himself, he referred them to the Cardinal his Nephew and Highchamberlain, an indolent and voluptuous man, who used to shuffle off the complaints of the people who had lost their cattle (as Platina says in the life of Eugenius) with this answer, "You really set too great a value upon your cattle; the Venetians live much more genteely without such encumbrances" "Eos nimiam spem in pecoribus collocasse: Venetos quidem sine gregibus & jumentis longe urbaniorem vitam ducere." At which they were so enraged, that they cried out, To arms! Liberty, Liberty! and not only removed all the magistrates from their employments, who had been appointed by Eugenius, but created others in their room, and seized upon the Cardinal his Nephew. The Pope being reduced to such extremities, put on the habit of a monk, and went on board a bark, in order to fly to Ostia, where he arrived safe, notwithstanding the vollies of stones and arrows that were discharged at the vessel as it fell down the river. From Ostia he went to Florence, and resided there some time. But the Romans did not long enjoy this liberty: for the Pope's authority was restored at Rome in his absence by John Vitelleschi, Patriarch of Alexandria, who proceeded with great severit against the mutineers.

tration, and that every thing ſhould be ſettled to his own ſatisfaction, as ſoon as he and his party had laid down their arms. Rinaldo therefore, ſeeing the coldneſs of Strozzi and the levity of Peruzzi, and having no other refuge left, put himſelf under the protection of the Pope, whoſe authority he thought was ſufficient to ſecure and defend him. In conſequence of this, the Pope ordered Niccolo Barbadori, and the others that were waiting for him without doors, to lay down their arms, as Rinaldo would remain with him till he had made terms for them with the Signiory: upon which, they diſperſed, and every man returned to his own houſe.

As ſoon as the Signiory ſaw their adverſaries diſarmed, they began to treat with them through the mediation of the Pope, and, at the ſame time, ſent privately into the mountains of Piſtoia for a body of foot ſoldiers, which, being joined by all the horſe they had in the adjacent territories, were brought into Florence by night; and having taken poſſeſſion of all the paſſes and ſtrong places in the city, they called the people together in the Piazza before the Palace, and appointed a new Balia, which at their firſt meeting recalled Coſimo, and all the other Citizens that had been baniſhed with him. On the other hand, they not only ſent Rinaldo, Peruzzi, Barbadori, and Strozzi into baniſhment, but ſuch numbers of others, that moſt parts of Italy, and ſome other countries, were crowded with them, to the great impoveriſhment of Florence both in regard to its wealth, its inhabitants, its trade and manufactures. But the Pope ſeeing that party entirely ruined and diſſipated, which had conſented to lay down their arms upon his aſſurances and interceſſion, was exceedingly enraged; lamenting with Rinaldo the grievous misfortune that had befallen him through his means, and in violation of the moſt ſolemn engagements: exhorting him however, to patience under his ſufferings, and to hope for a ſpeedy change in his favour, from the inconſtancy of fortune. Rinaldo made anſwer in a few words,

words, "that the little regard his friends had paid to his advice, and the too great confidence he had put in his Holineſs, had been the ruin both of himſelf and his party: but that indeed, he ought to condemn himſelf rather than any other perſon, for fooliſhly imagining that a man, who had been driven out of his own Country, ſhould have intereſt enough to protect another any where elſe. That he was no ſtranger to the viciſſitudes of fortune, and as he had never been elated with proſperity, he ſhould not be dejected in adverſity; ſince he knew that when it was her humour, ſhe would favour him again with her ſmiles. But if ſhe ſhould not, it would give him no great degree of regret to be baniſhed a city where private men had more authority than the Laws: for any Country was certainly more deſirable, where a man could enjoy his property and truſt to his friends, than that where the one was ſo eaſily taken away, and the other always deſerted him, out of fear and mean ſelf-intereſt, in the day of diſtreſs. That all wiſe and good men thought it more grievous to be ſpectators of the calamities of their Country, than to hear of them at a diſtance; and more honourable to be an honeſt exile than an abject ſlave." After which, he turned himſelf about, and leaving the Pope with great contempt and indignation, he went into baniſhment; often bewailing his own credulity, as well as the baſeneſs of his friends, and their blindneſs in rejecting his counſels. Coſimo, on the other hand, having notice that he was at liberty to come home again, immediately repaired to Florence: and it has ſeldom happened that any commander, though returning in triumph from ſome extraordinary Victory, was received with ſuch acclamations and univerſal joy, as Coſimo was at his return from baniſhment by his fellow Citizens, who ran in multitudes to meet him, and ſaluted him with one voice, *the Benefactor of the People, and the Father of his Country.*

Cosimo,

END OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

THE

HISTORY

OF

FLORENCE.

BOOK V.

ARGUMENT.

The ſoldiery of Italy divided into two parties, under Count Franciſco Sforza and Niccolo Fortebraccio. The Duke of Milan promiſes his Daughter in marriage to the former. Rome is aſſaulted by Sforza, and la Marca d' Ancona invaded by Fortebraccio. Pope Eugenius IV. *makes an ignominious peace with Sforza, and being driven out of Rome by the inhabitants, flies to Florence. A war in Romagna betwixt the Duke of Milan on one ſide; and the Venetians, the Florentines, and the Pope, on the other; who enter into a league againſt the Duke. Sforza commands the forces of the league; and Piccinino thoſe of the Duke. A new government in Florence. Their ſevere proceedings. Alphonſo of Arragon attempts to make himſelf King of Naples. His fleet is defeated by the Genoeſe, and he himſelf taken priſoner and brought to the Duke of Milan. The authority of the Doge in Genoa. Franciſco Spinola having betrayed that City into the hands of the Duke, repents of it, and is the author of recovering its liberty. Rinaldo degli Albizi's ſpeech to the Duke, perſuading him to make war upon the Florentines, which he does. His General Piccinino commits terrible ravages in their terri-*

territories, and takes up his quarters at Lucca, to the great offence of the Florentines. Count Sforza gives him battle, defeats his forces, and lays waste the Country of the Lucchese. The speech of a Citizen of Lucca to animate the inhabitants of that City to defend themselves against the Florentines. Count Sforza is made General of the League. The Venetians are jealous of his proceedings. The disputes betwixt them about his passing the Po. He leaves their service and retires into Tuscany. A quarrel betwixt the Pope and Count Poppi accommodated by the Florentines. A controversy betwixt the Greek and Roman Churches, determined at Florence by the submission of the former. The Pope deluded, and his territories invaded by Piccinino, who takes all the towns in Romagna from him. Count Sforza earnestly persuaded by the Florentines not to desert the Venetians, at last consents to pass the Po. Neri Capponi's speech to the Venetian Senate. Count Sforza makes an unexpected march and relieves Verona, which was besieged by the Duke's forces. He attempts to relieve Brescia also. Piccinino defeats and takes most of the Venetian gallies upon the Lake di Garda. One part of his army is worsted by Count Sforza, and he himself escapes in a strange manner to the other. He surprizes Verona, which is recovered by the Count. The Duke of Milan is encouraged by Piccinino and the Florentine Exiles to invade Tuscany. The Patriarch of Alexandria, General of the Pope's forces. His character. He is suspected of endeavouring to betray the Pope: is committed to prison, and dies there. Differences betwixt the Venetians and Count Sforza about relieving Brescia, adjusted at last to his satisfaction. The Duke of Milan's forces invade Tuscany, under the command of Piccinino, who plunders the territories of the Florentines, and takes several towns and castles from them. The cowardice of Orlandini. Count Poppi revolts from the Florentines. The Duke's army is defeated in Lombardy, and Brescia relieved by Sforza. A remarkable battle at Anghiari, in which Piccinino is routed by the forces of the Florentines, in conjunction

with those of the Pope. Poppi is besieged and taken. Count Poppi's address to the Florentine Commissaries upon that occasion. Neri Capponi's answer. The Count is stripped of his dominions for his perfidy.

IN the changes that are incident to all governments, they often degenerate into anarchy and confusion; and from thence emerge again to good order and regularity. For since it is ordained by Providence that there should be a continual ebb and flow in the things of this world; as soon as they arrive at their utmost perfection, and can ascend no higher, they must of necessity decline: and on the other hand, when they have fallen, through any disorder, to the lowest degree that is possible, and can sink no lower, they begin to rise again. And thus there is a constant succession of prosperity and adversity in all human affairs. Virtue is the mother of peace; peace produces idleness; idleness, contention and misrule; and from thence proceed ruin and confusion. This occasions reformation and better laws; good laws make men virtuous; and public virtue is always attended with glory and success. It has therefore been well remarked, that arms are prior to letters, and that in new States and governments there always have been warriors and soldiers, before the rise of Scholars and Philosophers. But the former being once securely established in their dominion by dint of arms, have generally encouraged the study of Letters, as an honourable relaxation in time of peace, and the most likely method to soften the ferocity of men inured to war. And it is certain that indolence and effeminacy cannot be introduced into any state in a more specious and dangerous disguise. Of which, Cato the Censor seemed to be so well apprized, that when he saw the Roman youth eagerly listening to the Lectures and philosophical discourses of Diogenes and Carneades, (who were sent Ambassadors from Athens to the Senate of Rome) and considered the prejudice which the Commonwealth might receive from suffering

fering its ſubjects to employ themſelves in thoſe ſpeculative matters, he procured a law to be paſſed, that no Philoſopher ſhould be permitted to come into that city. Theſe and other ſuch cauſes ſometimes bring States to the brink of ruin: but when they are at the loweſt ebb, and grown wiſer by their fall, they frequently recover their ſtrength, as we have already ſaid, by making new laws and inſtitutions; unleſs they are either totally overwhelmed, or prevented by ſome forcible and extraordinary means.

Such were the Viciſſitudes that Italy experienced; firſt, under the dominion of the ancient Tuſcans; and then, under that of the Romans; ſometimes flouriſhing and powerful, and ſometimes reduced to miſery and diſtreſs. And though no fabrick was afterwards erected upon the ruins of the Roman Empire, that could in anywiſe pretend to vie with it in its ancient ſplendor, (which yet might have been effected by a brave and wiſe Prince) there aroſe ſuch a ſpirit, however, in ſome of the new States and cities that were founded upon thoſe ruins, that if no one of them uſurped a Dominion over all the reſt, they nevertheleſs were at firſt ſo well governed and united amongſt themſelves, that they delivered their country from the yoke of Barbarians, and defended it for a while againſt any further invaſions. Amongſt theſe States, the Florentines (notwithſtanding their territory was of leſs extent) were not inferior to any other either in power or authority: on the contrary, as they were ſituated in the middle of Italy, exceeding opulent, and ready to turn their arms to any ſide, they not only bravely ſupported ſuch wars as were waged againſt themſelves, but generally threw the victory into the ſcale of thoſe allies with whom they thought fit to confederate. From the warlike diſpoſition of theſe new States, it was not poſſible indeed that they ſhould long continue at peace together: but their wars were not attended with much danger.' For as thoſe times cannot properly be called peaceable, when they ſtood ready armed and watching all opportu-

nities to attack each other; ſo neither does that deſerve the name of war, in which no men were killed, no towns were ſacked, nor any State was ſubverted: their enterprizes being conducted in ſo feeble a manner, that they were commenced without fear, carried on without peril, and ended, for the moſt part, without any material loſs on either ſide. From whence it came to paſs that all martial ardour, which in other countries is ſometimes damped and abated indeed by a long interval of peace, was at laſt utterly extinguiſhed amongſt the Italians, even in the midſt of wars; by the baſe and ſpiritleſs manner in which they were proſecuted; as will plainly appear in the courſe of thoſe that happened betwixt the years 1434 and 1494: wherein we ſhall ſee a new inlet opened to the incurſions of * Barbarians, and Italy once more become ſubject to their yoke. And though the actions of our Princes both at home and abroad during this period, may not fill the reader with ſo much admiration of their magnanimity, as the noble exploits that were performed in ancient times; yet it may occaſion no leſs wonder, when he ſees how many brave people were bridled and kept in ſubjection by dint of arms ſo weakly and pitifully conducted. And if in the account of that corrupted age he ſhall find neither valour in the ſoldiers, nor ſkill in the commanders, † nor any love of their country

1434
1494.

* The Italians are pleaſed to beſtow this name, not only upon the Goths and Vandals, and ſuch other northern nations as are particularly mentioned in the beginning of the firſt book of this hiſtory, but upon all Tramontanes, or people that live on the other ſide of the Alps. The French, Spaniards and Germans are here meant.

† Theſe *Condottieri*, or *pitiful Commanders*, as Machiavel juſtly calls them in the latter end of the firſt book of this hiſtory, were commonly either younger brothers and ſoldiers of fortune that had nothing to truſt to but the profeſſion of arms; or rebels and outlaws or traitors, who having collected a parcel of Banditti in as deſperate circumſtances as themſelves, uſed to hire out their ſervice, ſometimes to one State, and ſometimes to another, (as beſt ſuited their own intereſt) to fight their battles. So that their maſters were likely to be finely ſerved; as indeed they often were. For upon any little diſguſt, or offer of higher pay, they always deſerted them and went over to the enemy. They had at that time, as Machiavel ſays, reduced

left

left in the Citizens, he may obſerve however, what little ſhifts and tricks, and low artifices, both the Princes and Commanders and governors of Commonwealths then made uſe of to maintain a reputation which they did not deſerve. And this, perhaps, may be of equal utility with reading ancient hiſtory: for as the great examples that occur in one will naturally inſpire generous minds with a deſire to imitate them; ſo the other may ſerve to excite their abhorrence and diſdain.

Italy therefore was reduced to ſuch a condition by thoſe who governed it, that a Peace was no ſooner agreed to by the contending Princes, but it was preſently diſturbed again by the ſoldiers who ſtill continued in arms: ſo that they neither gained any glory by their wars, nor tranquillity by a peace. Accordingly, after a peace was concluded betwixt the Duke of Milan and the League in the year 1433, the ſoldiery being diſcontented at it, reſolved to turn their arms againſt the Church. They were at that time divided into two parties, the Bracceſcan and the Sfor- 1433

their manner of making war to a ſort of a trade or ſyſtem; and thoſe that employed them were ſure to be loſers in the end, even if they were victorious: whilſt their Condottieri always took care to ſecure ſome part at leaſt of the bone in diſpute for their own ſhare, either by making themſelves arbitrators, or threatening upon one frivolous excuſe or other, to go over to the enemy and leave their maſters diſarmed. Theſe hirelings generally gave themſelves terrible names to inſpire the enemy with fear, one calling himſelf Havock, another Hamſtringer, and a third Fortebraccio or Strong-Arm, which laſt has been adopted amongſt the French under the name of Fierbras, and by the Engliſh under that of Armſtrong. They made but little account of Infantry in thoſe times, and ſeldom uſed any artillery in their field engagements. They were afraid of loſing their men. For which reaſon they endeavoured to bear down the enemy by the weight of their gens d'armes or heavy armed horſe, and did not often come to blows. Thoſe that were driven out of the field were ſaid to be vanquiſhed. There was more blood ſhed in private quarrels and conſpiracies than in battles. For as their horſemen were all covered with armour, it ſometimes happened that not ſo much as one man was killed on either ſide, and ſometimes not above two or three at the moſt, in an engagement that laſted ſeveral hours; and thoſe too by being thrown from their horſes and trampled to death. This ſtrange account of the military proweſs of that age, is however very far from ſupporting what the Hiſtorian juſt before intimates reſpecting the power, authority, and ſpirit of the Florentines.

ceſcan:

cescan: Count Francisco Sforza being Head of the one, Niccolo Piccinino and Niccolo Fortebraccio the Chiefs of the other. To these two parties all the rest of the soldiers in Italy then joined themselves. But the Sforcescan was in the greater credit, both on account of Francisco's valour, and the promise that the Duke of Milan had made of giving him his natural daughter Madonna Bianca in marriage; the prospect of which alliance gained him very great reputation. Both the parties, however, when they saw a peace concluded in Lombardy, immediately fell upon Pope Eugenius, though for different reasons. Fortebraccio did it in consequence of the ancient enmity that Braccio da Montone had ever professed against the Popes; but the Count out of ambition alone. The former therefore bent his forces immediately against Rome; and the latter possessed himself of la Marca d' Ancona: so that the Romans in order to avoid a war, were obliged to force Eugenius out of the city, who made his escape from the enemy with much difficulty and fled to Florence. Upon his arrival there, seeing the danger he was in, and that none of those States which had lately been so forward to lay down their arms, now cared to take them up again merely to support his cause, he came to an agreement with the Count and ceded the territory of la Marca to him; though the Count had not only seized upon it before without any manner of claim; but treated him with the utmost insolence. For in the letters which he wrote to his correspondents, he dated them in Latin (according to the custom of the Italians * *Ex Girifalco nostro Firmiano, invito Petro & Paulo*; 'From Girifalco near Fermo, where I reside at present in spite of St. Peter and St. Paul.' He was not content with this cession however, but insisted upon being created † Gonfalonier of the

* *Girifalco* or *Girfalco* in the Italian signifies a sort of a Hawk called a Gerfalcon: but here I suppose it is the name of a place.

† The Gonfalonier or Standard-bearer of the Church was an officer created by the Popes to conduct their forces and protect them against the Emperor, after they had usurped his authority at Rome.

Church,

Church, which was likewiſe granted; as the Pope, it ſeems, prefered an ignominious peace to a dangerous war. Upon theſe compliances, the Count took part with his Holineſs and made war upon Fortebraccio with various ſucceſs, for the ſpace of ſeveral months, in the territories of the Church; but always with much prejudice to the Pope and his ſubjects (which ſide ſoever prevailed) and advantage to thoſe that conducted the war. At laſt, by the mediation of the Duke of Milan, a ſort of truce was agreed to betwixt thoſe two Chiefs; by which they both became maſters of ſeveral towns that belonged to the Church.

This war was hardly extinguiſhed at Rome, when another was kindled in Romagna by Battiſta Canneto; who having killed ſome of the family of the Grifoni at Bologna, had driven the Pope's Governor, and ſome others whom he ſuſpected to be his enemies, out of that city. And in order to keep forcible poſſeſſion of it, he applied for aid to Duke Philip; whilſt the Pope, on the other hand, ſollicited the aſſiſtance of the Venetians and Florentines to enable him to recover it: and each party being furniſhed with ſupplies, two powerful armies ſoon appeared in Romagna; the Duke's forces being commanded by Niccolo Piccinino, and thoſe of the Venetians and Florentines by Gattamelata and Niccolo da Tolentino. Not far from Imola they came to an engagement, in which the Venetians and Florentines were defeated; and Niccolo da Tolentino being taken priſoner, was ſent to the Duke at Milan, where he died in a few days after his arrival, either by poiſon, or out of mortification at his diſgrace. The Duke however, not purſuing his advantage, either becauſe his finances were too much exhauſted by the late wars, or that he thought the league would remain quiet after ſuch an overthrow, gave the Pope and his confederates time to recover their ſpirits in ſuch a manner, that they appointed Count Sforza their General, in order to drive Fortebraccio out of the territories of the Church if poſſible, and put an end to a war, which had

had been commenced in favour of his Holineſs. The Romans therefore ſeeing the Pope once more in the field with freſh recruits, endeavoured to make their peace with him; which being effected, they ſubmitted to receive a commiſſary whom he ſent to Rome. Amongſt other places which Fortebraccio had ſeized upon, were Tivoli, Monteſiaſconi, and the cities of Caſtello and Aſceſi; into the latter of which he had retired when he found he was no longer able to keep the field. But being beſieged there by the Count for a long time, for he made a brave defence, the Duke began to perceive that it behoved him either to prevent the Allies from making themſelves maſters of that place, or to provide for his own ſecurity, in caſe it ſhould fall into their hands. To make ſuch a diverſion therefore as might oblige the Count to raiſe the ſiege, he ordered Piccinino to force his way, if he could, through Romagna into Tuſcany: and the Allies judging it more neceſſary to defend Tuſcany, than to reduce Aſceſi, ſent inſtructions to the Count to oppoſe his paſſage through that province, though he had then advanced with his army as far as Furli. The Count, on the other hand, having raiſed the ſiege, marched with his forces directly to Ceſena, leaving the management of the war in la Marca, and the defence of his poſſeſſions to the care of his Brother Lione. But whilſt Piccinino was thus endeavouring to force a paſſage into Tuſcany, and the Count to prevent it, Fortebraccio boldly attacked Lione, and not only took him priſoner but diſperſed his army; and, purſuing his victory with the ſame rapidity, took and plundered ſeveral towns in la Marca: at which the Count was not a little chagrined, as he thought he ſhould now loſe all he had ſo lately acquired. Upon which account, he left part of his army to hold Piccinino at bay, and advanced with the reſt againſt Fortebraccio, whom he brought to an engagement; in which the latter being routed and taken priſoner, died not long after of the wounds he had received in the battle. By this Victory the

Pope

Pope regained all the territories that Fortebraccio had taken from him, and forced the Duke of Milan to ſue for a peace, which was at laſt concluded by the meditation of Niccolo d' Eſti Marquis of Ferrara: and it was agreed that all the towns that had been ſeized upon by the Duke in Romagna, ſhould be reſtored to the Church, and his forces withdrawn into Lombardy. Theſe conditions being complied with, Battiſta da Canneto, not being able to maintain himſelf in poſſeſſion of Bologna by his own ſtrength (as it generally happens to thoſe that depend upon the power of others to ſupport them in their uſurpations) was forced to fly from thence and leave the city open to Antonio Bentivogli, the former Governor, who immediately returned thither.

Theſe things happened during the exile of Coſimo de' Medici; at whoſe return, thoſe Citizens that had been his chief friends, and ſome others who had been injured and oppreſſed by the late Adminiſtration, were determined, at all events, to take the government of the State into their own hands. The Signiory therefore, that was drawn for the two enſuing months of November and December, not content with what their predeceſſors had already done in favour of their party, prolonged the term, and changed the reſidence of ſeveral that had been baniſhed, and ſent numbers of others into exile. And this was done, not only out of party rage, but likewiſe on account of their riches, alliances, and private connexions: ſo that this proſcription, except in the article of blood ſhed, might in ſome meaſure be compared to that under Sylla and Octavius. There were, however, ſome executions; for Antonio the ſon of Bernardo Guadagni, was beheaded: and four other Citizens, amongſt whom were Zanobi Belfratelli and Coſimo Barbadori, having left the place to which they had been baniſhed, and gone to reſide at Venice, were ſecured by the Venetians as ſetting a greater value upon Coſimo's friendſhip than their own reputation, and ſent priſoners to Florence, where they were

were put to death in an ignominious manner. Thefe examples greatly increafed the ftrength of Cofimo's party, and ftruck a terror into that of his enemies, when they faw fuch a powerful Republic as Venice fo meanly proftitute its honour to the Florentines: though fome thought this was not done fo much to oblige Cofimo, as to revive the fpirit of faction, and create more dangerous divifions in Florence by fuch executions; as the Venetians plainly faw, that peace and union in that city, was the only obftacle to their further aggrandizement. When they had thus pretty well cleared the City of their enemies, and fuch as they thought difaffected to their government, they began to ftrengthen their hands, by careffing and heaping favours upon others. For this purpofe, they recalled the family of the Alberti, and all the reft of the Exiles that had been formerly banifhed: they reduced the Grandees (except fome very few) to the rank of Commoners: and divided the poffeffions of thofe whom they had banifhed, amongft themfelves. After this, they fortified themfelves with new laws and ordinances, and made a frefh Imborfation, taking the names of all fufpected perfons out of the purfes, and filling them up again with thofe of their own friends. But remembering the fupinenefs and neglect that had been fo fatal to the late adminiftration, and confidering that even fuch an Imborfation as they had already made, might not be fufficient to eftablifh them firmly in the government, they likewife took care, that fuch magiftrates as had the power of life and death entrufted to them, fhould always be chofen out of the moft eminent of their party; for which purpofe, they ordained that the Syndics who infpected the Imborfations, in conjunction with the old Signiory, fhould have the power of appointing a new one. They left the cognizance of capital offences, to the eight Wardens, and enacted, that no Exile fhould return, even after the term of his banifhment was expired, till he had obtained the confent of the Signiory, and thirty-four of the Colleges, though the

whole

whole number of them amounted to no more than thirty-ſeven. All perſons were prohibited to write to or receive any letters from them; every word, or ſign, or geſture, that diſpleaſed the governors, was puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity: and if there was any ſuſpected perſon left in Florence, who had not fallen under their laſh for ſuch offences, they took care, however, to load him ſeverely with new taxes and impoſitions: ſo that one part of their adverſaries being driven out of the City, and the other depreſſed and over-awed by theſe means, they in a ſhort time ſecured the government to themſelves. And to ſupport their power with foreign aid, and deprive their enemies of all aſſiſtance, if they ſhould offer to diſturb them, they entered into a defenſive league with the Pope, the Venetians, and the Duke of Milan.

Whilſt things were in this ſituation at Florence, Giovanna Queen of Naples and Sicily died, and by her laſt will, declared Regnier, Duke of Anjou, her ſucceſſor. Alphonſo, King of Arragon, was at that time in Sicily, and had ſuch an intereſt with the Nobility there, that he was taking meaſures to make himſelf ſovereign of that Iſland. The Neapolitans in general, and many of the Nobles in particular, adhered to Regnier: the Pope, on the other hand, was not willing that either Regnier or Alphonſo ſhould become maſter of it, as he wanted to get poſſeſſion of it himſelf and to govern it by a Lieutenant. But Alphonſo making a ſudden deſcent upon the coaſt of Naples, was received there by the Duke of Seſſa, and took the forces of ſeveral other Princes into his pay; with a deſign (as Capua was already in his poſſeſſion, and governed by the Prince of Taranto, in his name) to compel the Neapolitans to ſubmit to him: for which purpoſe, he ordered his fleet to make an attack upon Gaieta, which was then in their hands. Upon this, the Neapolitans ſent to deſire the aſſiſtance of Duke Philip: but he recommended them to the protection of the Genoeſe, who, (in ſubmiſſion

to the commands of the Duke their ſovereign, and in hopes of ſecuring the great quantity of merchandize which they had lodged at that time in Naples and Gaieta) immediately fitted out a powerful ſquadron for their relief. Alphonſo hearing of this armament, thought proper to reinforce his own, and went to Sea with it in perſon, with a reſolution to fight the Genoeſe; and the two fleets happening to meet near the Iſle of Ponzio, came to an engagement, in which the Arragoneſe were not only defeated, but Alphonſo himſelf, and many other Princes that attended him, were taken, and ſent Priſoners by the Genoeſe to the Duke. This victory ſtruck a panick into the Princes of Italy (who before were under great apprehenſions of the Duke's power) as they thought he had now a very fair opportunity of making himſelf abſolute ſovereign over them all. But, contrary to the expectation of every one, he took a very different reſolution.

Alphonſo was a Prince of great wiſdom and addreſs, and as ſoon as he had an opportunity of a private converſation with Duke Philip, he repreſented to him, "how little he conſulted his own intereſt, in ſupporting his competitor Regnier: for if Regnier ſhould become King of Naples, he would certainly endeavour (he ſaid) to make the Duchy of Milan a Province to the King of France; that ſo he might have a ſpeedy recourſe to him, and a door ready opened for ſuccours upon any emergency; which could not be effected without introducing the French into that Duchy, to the utter deſtruction of it. That for his own part, he thought the caſe would be very different, if he himſelf ſhould ſucceed to the crown of Naples and Sicily: for as he ſhould not be afraid of any enemy but the French, he muſt of neceſſity be obliged to court and careſs, and ſhew the moſt profound obedience to thoſe who only had it in their power to ſuffer his enemies to invade him. That the name and title of King of Naples would then indeed devolve to Alphonſo, but the power and authority to

Philip

Philip Duke of Milan. So that it behoved the Duke much more than himſelf, to conſider the danger of proceeding in that manner, and the advantages that might reſult from a contrary reſolution; unleſs he choſe rather to give way to his paſſions than to ſecure his State. For in one caſe he would continue free and independant; but in the other, (as his dominions lay betwixt two powerful Princes) he muſt either entirely loſe his Duchy, or live in perpetual apprehenſion and ſlaviſh ſubjection to them both." Theſe remonſtrances made ſuch an impreſſion upon the Duke, that he changed his reſolution, and not only ſet Alphonſo at liberty, but ſent him in an honourable manner to Genoa, and afterwards to Naples; from whence he went to Gaieta, which city had been ſeized upon by ſome Lords of his party, as ſoon as they heard that he was releaſed. But the Genoeſe ſeeing the Duke had thus ſet him at liberty, without any regard to them, and not only reaped all the glory of a war, which had been carried on ſolely at their riſque and expence, but had the merit of releaſing him, and left them to his reſentment for having defeated and taken him priſoner, were exceedingly enraged at it.

In the city of Genoa, when it has the full enjoyment of its liberty, a chief Magiſtrate is choſen by the free ſuffrages of the people, whom they call the Doge; not inveſted with the power of an abſolute Prince, nor to determine upon any thing himſelf, but only to propoſe ſuch matters as are to be debated and conſidered in council. The Nobility, however, were ſo powerful in this city, that they ſtood in very little awe of the Magiſtrates: and amongſt them, the two families of Fregoſo and Adorna, were at that time the moſt eminent. From hence it came to paſs, that there were frequent diviſions, and but little civil order obſerved amongſt them; and as their conteſts for power were oftner decided by arms than the laws, ſometimes one party was depreſſed, and ſometimes the other. Sometimes it happened, that thoſe who had been excluded from a ſhare in the government,

called in foreign Princes to their assistance, and sacrificed the State to strangers, when they could not usurp it themselves. From hence it likewise generally happened, that those who were masters of Lombardy, had also the command of Genoa; as Duke Philip had at the time when Alphonso of Arragon was taken prisoner. One of the Nobles that were the chief instruments in subjecting that city to the Duke of Milan, was Francisco Spinola; who, not long after he had been the cause of enslaving his country, became suspected (as it often happens in such cases) and very odious to Philip *. Upon which, he was so disgusted, that he retired to Gaieta, as a voluntary exile, where he was when the engagement happened betwixt Alphonso's fleet and that of the Genoese; and having behaved with great bravery in their service upon that occasion, he thought he had so far regained the Duke's favour by it, that he should at least be suffered to live quietly at Genoa, as a reward for his merit. But perceiving that the Duke still looked upon him with a suspicious eye, and seemed to think that a man who had betrayed his country, could never be faithful to any one else, he resolved to make an attempt to restore Genoa to its former liberty, and to retrieve his own reputation, that so he might hereafter live in security at home; as he found there was no other way left to make his peace with his Fellow-citizens, but by healing the wound which he himself had given them. Seeing therefore, the universal indignation which the release of Alphonso had excited against the Duke, he thought it a very opportune conjuncture to proceed to the execution of his designs. For which purpose, he communicated the matter to some

* It seldom happens that they who raise either a usurper or a lawful Prince to the throne, enjoy his favour long. This, however, is not always owing to the maxim, "that men love treason but hate traitors;" nor because men imagine, that they who laboured to dethrone their first master, will not scruple to dethrone their new sovereign. It is chiefly because these men think they are never rewarded as they deserve; and that a Prince who owes his crown to them, ought to grant them whatever they request of him.

of

of his friends, who, he knew were equally impatient to regain their liberty, and earneſtly exhorted them to aſſiſt him in the attempt. Accordingly, on the Feſtival of St. John the Baptiſt, as ſoon as Ariſmino, their new Governor for the Duke, had made his entry into the city, attended by Opicino the former Governor, and many of the Citizens, Spinola without further delay, ruſhed out of his houſe with his confederates ready armed, and having drawn them up in the ſtreet before his door, cried out, Liberty, Liberty. At this ſound, the people ran together with ſuch eagerneſs, that thoſe who adhered to the Duke, either out of ſelf-intereſt or ſome other motive, were not only unprepared to make any reſiſtance, but hardly had time to run away. Ariſmino and ſome of the Citizens that were of his party, retired into the citadel, which was garriſoned by the Duke's ſoldiers. But Opicino endeavouring to get to the Palace, where he thought he ſhould be able to ſecure himſelf, and animate his friends to make a vigorous defence (as there were two thouſand ſoldiers in it under his command) was ſlain before he could reach it, and torn limb from limb by the populace, after they had dragged his body through every ſtreet in the city. The citadel and other forts that were in the Duke's poſſeſſion, likewiſe ſurrendering in a few days, the Genoeſe in this manner recovered their liberty and entirely ſhook off his yoke.

The Princes of Italy, who ſometime before had been under great apprehenſions that the Duke would grow too powerful for them all, began to hope they ſhould be able to make a ſtand againſt him when they ſaw things take this turn; and the Florentines and Venetians, notwithſtanding the league they had ſo lately made with him, now entered into a confederacy with the Genoeſe. Rinaldo degli Albizi therefore, and ſeveral others of the greateſt diſtinction amongſt the Florentine Exiles, ſeeing the face of affairs ſo changed, and further diſturbances likely to enſue, did not deſpair of prevailing with the Duke

to come to an open rupture with the Florentines; and for that purpose, they went to wait upon him at Milan, where Rinaldo addressed him in the following manner: "Neither your Highness, nor any other person, who considers the couse of human affairs and the mutability of fortune, will think it strange that we, who formerly have been your enemies, should now have the confidence to sollicit your assistance to restore us to our Country; especially as we trust we can give a satisfactory account of our past actions to yourself, and present conduct to our fellow-citizens. No reasonable man will ever reproach another with defending his Country, by any means whatsoever; and in so doing, it never was our desire or intention to do you the least injury, but merely to secure ourselves. For the truth of this, we appeal to yourself; as you must very well remember, that in our highest career of victory and success, whenever we found you sincerely disposed to peace, we have promoted it with still greater ardour than you did: so that we cannot accuse ourselves of ever having done any thing that might give us reason to doubt of your Highness's favour and protection; nor can our Country with justice complain of us, for now inciting you to take up those arms against it, which we have often so vigorously exerted in its defence. For that State alone can duly claim the reverence and love of its subjects, which equally bestows its favours upon them all: and not that, which smiles only upon some few minions, and frowns upon all the rest. Nobody, surely, will affirm, that it is unlawful in all cases to bear arms against one's Country: for every State, being of a compound nature, in some measure resembles the human body; and as one is subject to several diseases, which cannot effectually be cured without caustics and amputation; so, in the other, many disorders and inconveniencies arise, which if a good and dutiful Citizen did not endeavour to remedy, even by the sword, if necessary, he would become highly culpable. What greater mi-

miſery then can there be in any Republic, than ſlavery? What remedy more expedient than that which will certainly put an end to it? Thoſe wars are always eſteemed juſt that are neceſſary; and it is but charity to our Country to take up arms, when there is no other hope of redreſs for the injuries it ſuſtains. For my own part, I know not what neceſſity can be more preſſing than ours, nor any higher degree of charity, than to reſcue our Country out of the jaws of ſlavery. Without doubt, we have a moſt juſt cauſe, and very well worthy of being maturely conſidered and attended to by your Highneſs, as well as ourſelves; and you, likewiſe, will be fully juſtified in making war upon the Florentines, by their ſhameleſs behaviour in confederating with your rebellious ſubjects the Genoeſe, in open violation of the ſolemn engagements into which they have ſo lately entered with your Highneſs. But if our ſufferings are not ſufficiently grievous to move pity, certainly the indignities that have been offered to yourſelf ſhould excite your reſentment, and prompt you to take a juſt revenge; eſpecially, ſince it is ſo eaſy to be effected. Let not the remembrance of paſt times diſcourage you, in which you have ſeen them defend themſelves with ſo much vigour and obſtinacy: though indeed, if their courage was now equal to what it was formerly, it would be much to be dreaded. But the caſe is far otherwiſe at preſent; for what ſtrength can you expect in a city that has expelled the richeſt and moſt induſtrious of its inhabitants? What reſolution in a people diſtracted with freſh broils and quarrels amongſt themſelves, which will naturally prevent the little money they have left from being applied as it uſed to be? For men chearfully open their purſes, when they ſee it is for the reputation and ſecurity of their Country, in hopes of regaining that by an honourable peace, which they have expended in ſupporting a neceſſary war: but with great reluctance, when they find themſelves equally oppreſſed, both in war and peace, and are plundered by the out-

rages of an enemy in one, and the rapacity of their Governors in the other. It is certain, that the avarice of Governors is of much greater prejudice to any State, than the depredations of its enemies: as the latter, it may be hoped, will ceaſe in time; but of the former there ſeldom is any end. You formerly waged war againſt the whole Republic; but now againſt a very inconſiderable remnant of it: you then had great numbers of good and worthy Citizens to oppoſe you; but at preſent very few, and thoſe bad men: you came at that time to deprive our City of its liberties, but now to reſtore them: and ſurely, from ſuch a contrariety of circumſtances, you may well hope for a very different event; nay, you may certainly depend upon ſucceſs. We leave your Highneſs to judge of the advantage you will reap from it, in ſtrengthening your hands by a ſtrict alliance with the Tuſcans, whom you will firmly attach to your intereſt, by the merit of ſo great a deliverance; an alliance from which you may avail yourſelf of more effectual ſupplies in any future undertaking, than even from Milan itſelf: and though ſuch an enterprize, at another time, might have been imputed to injuſtice or ambition, it will now be regarded as equitable and compaſſionate. Permit us, therefore, to exhort your Highneſs, not to let ſo fair an opportunity ſlip away, but to conſider, that although your former attempts againſt that State were attended with great difficulty, expence, and diſhonour, you may eaſily ſucceed in this, and gain infinite reputation and advantage."

The Duke did not require much ſollicitation to induce him to make war upon the Florentines, as he entertained an hereditary hatred to them, and was prompted to it by the blindneſs of his ambition, which governed him in all his actions: beſides, he was not a little provoked at their confederacy with the Genoeſe. But when he conſidered the vaſt expences he had been at, the riſque he had run, the loſſes he had ſo lately ſuſtained, and the vain and ill-grounded hopes of

of the exiles, his ardour was ſomething abated. However, as ſoon as he heard of the revolt of Genoa, he ordered Niccolo Piccinino to advance towards that City with all his Cavalry, and what infantry he could raiſe in his own territories, to try if it was poſſible to recover it, before the Citizens had eſtabliſhed any new government, and made neceſſary proviſions for their defence; as he depended much upon the ſtrength of the Citadel, which he thought was ſtill maintained by his garriſon. And though Piccinino not only drove ſome of the Genoeſe up into the mountains, but took the Vale of Ponzeveri from them, where they had fortified themſelves, and forced them into that town, yet they defended it ſo obſtinately, that he could make no further progreſs, and was obliged to draw off again with his forces. Upon which, the Duke, at the inſtigation of the Florentine Exiles, ſent him inſtructions to make an incurſion towards the Sea-coaſt near Leghorn, and harraſs the confines of Piſa, as much as poſſible; imagining he ſhould be better able to judge from the ſucceſs of theſe expeditions, what courſe it would be moſt proper to take next. In conſequence of this, Piccinino made an aſſault upon Serezana and took it; and after he had committed great ravages thereabout, in order to alarm the Florentines ſtill more, he proceeded towards Lucca, giving out that he would march into the Kingdom of Naples to the aſſiſtance of the King of Arragon. In the beginning of theſe new commotions Pope Eugenius left Florence and went to Bologna, where he endeavoured to bring about an accommodation betwixt the League and the Duke, to whom he cauſed it to be ſignified, that if he did not conſent to it, he ſhould be obliged to give Count Franciſco Sforza leave to go into their ſervice, who was then his General and Ally. And though his Holineſs took great pains in the matter, it was to no purpoſe: for the Duke would not liſten to any agreement, except Genoa was reſtored to him; and the League inſiſted that it ſhould continue in the enjoyment of its liber-

ties: ſo that all hopes of peace being at an end, both ſides prepared for war. Upon the arrival of Piccinino at Lucca, the Florentines beginning to be apprehenſive of new diſturbances from that quarter, ordered Neri di Gino to march directly with their forces to cover the Country about Piſa, where he was joined by Count Sforza, according to the Pope's directions, and both of them took poſt at Santa Gonda. On the other hand, Piccinino, who lay at Lucca, ſent to demand a paſſage through that Country into the Kingdom of Naples; which being refuſed, he threatened to force one.

The ſtrength of the two armies, and the abilities of the commanders were nearly the ſame: ſo that neither ſide being very deſirous to come to an engagement, eſpecially in the depth of winter, (as it was then December) they lay many days in their quarters, without proceeding to further hoſtilities. The firſt that moved was Piccinino, who being informed, that if he made an aſſault upon the town of Piſano, he might eaſily carry it. But failing in that, he laid waſte all the adjacent Country, and not only took St. Giovanni alla Vena, but plundered it and burnt it down to the ground. The ſucceſs of this enterprize (though he failed in his main deſign) determined him to attempt ſomething further; eſpecially when he ſaw that neither Gini, nor the Count ſtirred out of their quarters to oppoſe him. He therefore made an attack upon St. Maria in Caſtello and Filetto, and took them both. Yet even this did not provoke the Count to put himſelf in motion; though he was not afraid to face the enemy; but becauſe the Government of Florence had not yet fully reſolved to declare war, out of reverence to the Pope, who was ſtill negociating a peace. But this manner of proceeding, which was the effect of moderation and prudence in the Florentines, being imputed to puſillanimity by the enemy, ſo elated them that they marched forward and ſat down with all their forces before Barga. This new provocation, how-

however, determined the Florentines to lay aſide all reſpect, and not only to relieve Barga if poſſible, but to invade the territories of the Lucchese. For which purpoſe, the Count advancing directly towards Piccinino, engaged and routed his army, almoſt under the walls of that town, and forced him to raiſe the ſiege. In the mean time, the Venetians perceiving the Duke had broken his engagements with them, ſent Franciſco da Gonzaga, their commander in chief, to Ghiaradadda, who made ſuch devaſtation in the Duke's territories, that he was forced to recall Piccinino out of Tuſcany. This retreat, and the advantage which the Florentines had lately gained over him, encouraged them to make an attempt upon Lucca, and not without great hopes of reducing that city; in which expedition they proceeded without either fear or ceremony, as they ſaw the Duke, who was the only perſon that could interrupt their deſigns, was likely to be ſufficiently employed by the Venetians; and the Lucchese could not with any face complain of hoſtilities being commenced againſt them by a people whoſe enemies they had received into their boſom, and giving them an opportunity of invading their dominions. In the beginning of April therefore 1437, the Count put his army in motion again: but being deſirous of recovering what the Florentines had loſt, before he invaded others, he firſt retook St. Maria in Caſtello, and all their other towns which Piccinino had made himſelf maſter of: and then directing his march towards the territories of the Lucchese, he laid ſiege to Camajore, the inhabitants of which, though very well affected to their maſters, being terrified at the ſudden arrival of the enemy before their gates, forgot their loyalty, and ſurrendered to the Count. With the ſame facility he reduced Maſſa and Serezana, before the end of May; and then carried his arms into the confines of Lucca, where he laid waſte all their corn-fields, burnt the Villages, cut up their Vines and fruit trees, drove away their Cattle, and

ſpared

ſpared nothing that his ſoldiers could lay their hands on. The Lucchefe on the other hand, ſeeing themſelves abandoned by the Duke, and in no condition to defend their Country, retired into the city, which they fortified with redoubts and other works in ſuch a manner, that they were not without hopes of defending it for ſome time; eſpecially as they had a ſtrong garriſon within the walls, and remembered how often the Florentines had miſcarried in their former attempts upon it. The only thing they had to fear, was the baſeneſs and irreſolution of the common people, who being wearied out with a ſiege, would moſt likely prefer their own private ſafety to the liberty of the public, and force them to ſome ignominious capitulation. To encourage them therefore to make a reſolute defence, one of the oldeſt and moſt experienced of the Citizens, having called them together in the great Piazza, harangued them in the following manner:

"Ye need not be told, fellow-citizens, that whatſoever is the effect of neceſſity, deſerves neither cenſure nor applauſe. So that if ye ſhould accuſe us as the occaſion of a war which the Florentines have now commenced againſt our State, by admitting the Duke's forces into this city, and giving them a more convenient opportunity of invading their dominions, ye certainly do us much wrong; ſince ye muſt all but too well remember the many attempts they have formerly made upon us, which have not been owing to any injuries that we have done them, or any juſt apprehenſions from us on their ſide, but to our weakneſs and their ambition; both which, from time to time, have continually incited them to conſpire our ruin. Let us not flatter ourſelves therefore, that any merit on our part will ever divert them from their purpoſes, or any offence that we may give, can more fully determine them in ſuch a reſolution: and ſince it is their deſire to deprive us of our liberty, let it be our endeavour manfully to defend it. We have ſufficient cauſe indeed to lament, but not to be ſurprized, at

at their preſent manner of proceeding: for how is it poſſible to ſuppreſs our grief, when we ſee our country invaded, our towns taken from us, our houſes burnt, and our fields laid waſte? but can any man be ſimple enough to wonder at it, when he conſiders that we ſhould treat them in the ſame manner, and perhaps worſe if it was in our power? And though the arrival of Piccinino amongſt us has furniſhed them with a pretence to begin this war upon us, yet they would certainly have found out ſome other, if he had not come hither: the evil might have been deferred for a while, but it would in that caſe very likely have fallen ſo much the heavier upon us at laſt. So that we ought not, in reality, to impute theſe misfortunes to his coming, but to our own evil deſtiny and the ambition of our enemies: for we could neither refuſe admittance to the Duke's forces, nor reſtrain them from committing hoſtilities when they were here. Every one muſt needs know that we cannot poſſibly ſupport ourſelves without the aid of ſome powerful Prince; and that no one is either more able or more willing to defend us than the Duke. As he reſtored our liberty when it was loſt, we may reaſonably hope he will ſtill maintain us in it; eſpecially againſt enemies ſo implacable, that he himſelf has always looked upon them with abhorrence. If then we had offended him for fear of diſobliging the Florentines, we ſhould have loſt a firm friend, and made our enemy ſtill more powerful and ready to attack us. It is ſurely therefore much more eligible to be at war with them, under his protection, than to incur his diſpleaſure by patching up a peace; as we may depend upon it he will deliver us out of thoſe dangers to which he has expoſed us, provided we are not wanting to ourſelves. Ye very well remember with what a degree of inveteracy the Florentines have often invaded us, and with how much reputation we have always defended ourſelves, even when we had no other hope but in God, and in time; both which have hitherto conſtantly preſerved us. And ſince we were enabled to

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do ſo in thoſe exigencies, why ſhould we deſpair of it at preſent? At that time we were left to their mercy by all the States of Italy, but now the Duke eſpouſes our cauſe, and we have good reaſon to hope the Venetians will not be very forward to annoy us; as they look with a jealous eye upon the growing power of our enemies. When the Florentines attacked us before, they were not ſo much embarraſſed in their affairs as they are now; they had alſo greater dependance upon foreign aſſiſtance, and were more powerful themſelves: on the contrary, we were every way much weaker than we are at preſent: for we then were obliged to defend a Tyrant; but now we fight for ourſelves: at that time he reaped the glory of defending us; but now the reputation is our own: the enemy was then united and entire, but now ſo divided and diſmembered, that every part of Italy ſwarms with their Exiles. But if we had none of theſe motives to animate us, certainly we ought to exert our utmoſt efforts to defend ourſelves in ſuch a conjuncture as this. Every enemy indeed ought to be juſtly dreaded by us, as they are all ready to take advantage of our weakneſs to aggrandize themſelves with our ſpoils; but the domination of the Florentines is much more to be feared than that of any other people. Tribute and obedience, and the government of our city will not content them; they will ſeize upon our very perſons and houſes, to ſatiate their cruelty with our blood, and their avarice with our poſſeſſions: ſo that it behoves every one of us, of what rank or condition ſoever, to guard againſt them above all others. Let us not deſpair however, tho' we ſee our Country laid waſte, our towns reduced to aſhes, and our lands in the hands of the enemy; for if we can ſave our city, thoſe of neceſſity muſt return into our poſſeſſion; but if we loſe that, it will avail us nothing to preſerve the other: if we maintain our liberty, they will hardly be able to continue maſters of our eſtates; but if we are to be ſlaves, it ſignifies but little what becomes of them. Let us take

take arms then, and in the day of battle, let every man remember that he is fighting not only for his country, but for the preſervation of his wife and children and private fortune."

The latter part of this ſpeech excited ſuch a ſpirit in the people, that they unanimouſly promiſed to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood, rather than fail in the duty they owed to their Country, or liſten to a peace, that ſhould be in any wiſe prejudicial to their liberty; and immediately began to make all neceſſary preparations for the defence of the City.

In the mean time the Florentine army was not inactive: for after they had committed great devaſtation in the adjacent country, they took poſſeſſion of Monte Carlo by capitulation, and then laid ſiege to Uzzano, in order to diſtreſs the Lucchese on every ſide in ſuch a manner, that when there was no hope of relief from any quarter, they might be compelled by famine to ſubmit to them. The Citadel however, was very ſtrong and had a numerous garriſon in it, ſo that it did not prove ſo eaſy a matter to reduce it as the reſt. The Lucchese ſeeing they were thus ſtraitened, had recourſe to Duke Philip (as might well be expected) and recommended themſelves to his protection in the moſt preſſing terms; ſometimes reminding him of their paſt ſervices, ſometimes of the inſults he himſelf had received from the Florentines, and ſometimes repreſenting to him "how much it would animate his other allies, when they ſaw him thus ready to interpoſe in their defence: and on the other hand, how greatly it muſt diſcourage them, if they ſhould be left to the mercy of their enemies. That in caſe they ſhould loſe their lives or liberties, he would alſo loſe his friends and his reputation at the ſame time, as well as the confidence of all others who ſhould at any time expoſe themſelves to the like dangers to ſerve him. To theſe remonſtrances they added tears and entreaties beſeeching him to have compaſſion on them at leaſt, if he had no remembrance of former obligations." The Duke therefore,

not only conſidering the late merit of the Lucchefe, and the ancient enmity of the Florentines to him, but being likewiſe very deſirous to prevent them from growing ſtill more powerful by freſh acquiſitions, reſolved either to ſend a conſiderable army into Tuſcany, or to make a vigorous war upon the Venetians; that ſo the former might be neceſſitated to abandon their preſent enterprize, in order to march to their aſſiſtance. As ſoon as the Florentines had intelligence of this reſolution, they began to grow ſick of their undertaking; and therefore, to find him ſufficient employment at home, they earneſtly ſollicited the Venetians to fall upon him with all their forces in Lombardy. But the Venetians being daunted at the deſertion of the Marquis of Mantua, who had quitted their ſervice and gone into the Duke's; and ſeeing themſelves in a manner diſarmed thereby, made anſwer, "that they were ſo far from being able to become principals in the war, that they could not take any ſhare at all in it, except they would ſpare them Count Sforza to command their army; and upon condition too, that he ſhould be obliged to paſs the Po with it in perſon: otherwiſe, they would not embark in the war (notwithſtanding any former engagements) ſince they could neither carry it on without a General, nor hope for ſucceſs from the conduct of any one but the Count; nor even from his, unleſs he would engage to ſerve them with equal vigour and fidelity in all parts." The Florentines ſaw very plainly that it was neceſſary to make a powerful diverſion in Lombardy; but conſidered that if they parted with the Count, their enterprize againſt Lucca muſt fall to the ground: and they were likewiſe aware that the Venetians made that demand, not out of any real occaſion they had for him, but to prevent them from becoming maſters of that State. On the other hand, the Count did not refuſe to go into Lombardy to ſerve the Confederates there, but was reſolved not to violate the obligation he lay under not to paſs the Po; for fear of forfeiting the advantages

vantages he expected from his promised alliance with the Duke. So that betwixt the desire of reducing Lucca, and the apprehension of being embroiled in a war with the Duke, the Florentines were in no little perplexity. But fear at last prevailing over ambition, as it generally happens, they consented that the Count, after he had taken Uzzano, should march into Lombardy. There still remained another difficulty however, which seemed much harder to be surmounted, and gave them more trouble and vexation than the former. For the Count would not be obliged to pass the Po; and the Venetians would not take him into their pay upon any other conditions. But as there was no way to accommodate these differences, without making some concessions on one side or the other, the Florentines prevailed upon the Count to promise them in a letter to the Signiory, that he would pass that river; telling him, that a private promise could not dissolve a public engagement, and that he would be under no necessity of observing it: from whence they should gain this advantage, that when the Venetians had once begun a war, they would be obliged to persecute it; which perhaps might divert the storm they were then threatened with themselves. On the other hand, they represented to the Venetians, "that as such a letter was sufficiently binding, they ought to be satisfied with it: that it was but reasonable to skreen the Count, as much as they could, out of regard to the expectations he might have from his future father-in-law: and that it was both their interest and his, not to divulge the letter without a manifest occasion." The Venetians appearing satisfied with this expedient, it was accordingly determined to send the Count into Lombardy; who having taken Uzzano, and thrown up some works round Lucca to keep it still blocked up, recommended the superintendance of that war to Commissaries, and passing the * Apennines advanced

* The original says, *passo l' Alpi*, he passed the Alps. But it is plain, the Apennines are here meant. And though the word Alps

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to Reggio. But the Venetians ſuſpecting his ſincerity, and deſirous to diſcover his real intentions, ſent him orders thither to paſs the Po immediately and join their forces: which being peremptorily refuſed by the Count, much ill language paſſed betwixt him and Andrea Mauroceno, who brought him thoſe orders, each upbraiding the other with pride and inſincerity: ſo that after much altercation, one inſiſting that he was not obliged to paſs the River, and the other proteſting he ſhould receive no pay if he did not, the Count returned into Tuſcany, and Mauroceno to Venice.

After this, the Count encamped in the territories of Piſa, by an order from the Florentines, who expected he would ſtill have conducted the war againſt the Lucchefe; but in that they were diſappointed. For the Duke being informed, that he had refuſed to paſs the Po, out of reſpect to him, began to entertain ſome hopes that he might preſerve Lucca by his mediation, and therefore deſired him to uſe his endeavours to make a peace betwixt the Lucchefe

is generally appropriated, by way of eminence, to that vaſt ridge of mountains which divides Italy from France, Germany, and Switzerland, yet the Latin, Greek, and Italian writers (and Machiavel in particular) very often apply it to other mountains, and in both numbers. The French uſe it only in the plural. The ſingular is chiefly found amongſt the poets. And indeed it ſignifies any high mountain. Antonini ſays, "*Alpe* ſignifica in generale ogni altiſſima montagna, come in Greco e in Latino; i Franceſi non l'hanno in queſto ſentimento: particolarmente ſignifica quella che faſcia l'Italia da tramontana. Gl'Italiani l'uſano nel ſingolare e nel plurale; come, *di neve in* Alpe *ſenza vento*; *e, giaſu l'* Alpi *neva d'ogni intorno.*" The Engliſh uſe it in the ſame manner. Milton makes his Sampſon Agoniſtes ſay, l. 628.

"No breath of vernal air from ſnowy Alp."

Which muſt be meant of the mountains of Paleſtine; as it could not without great impropriety be ſpoken of any other, eſpecially of thoſe in Italy: For what breath of vernal air could he expect from mountains that were at the diſtance of ſo many hundred leagues from him; if indeed he could be ſuppoſed to know there were any ſuch in being? The Appennines run the whole length of Italy, from the north weſt to the ſouth-eaſt, and may, perhaps, be deemed a ramification of thoſe mountains that are particularly called the Alps. They lay directly in the Count's way from Lucca into Lombardy, whither he could not poſſibly get without paſſing them, and are at a great diſtance from the other.

and

and the Florentines, and get him included in it if possible; still buoying him up with the promise of his daughter in marriage at a more convenient opportunity: which made no slight impression upon the Count, who was in hopes, that by such an alliance, he might likewise sometime or other become Lord of Milan, as the Duke had no sons. He therefore used all means to prevent the Florentines from prosecuting the war, protesting that, for his own part, he would not give himself any further concern about it, except the Venetians would first pay him the arrears that were due to him, and fulfil their other engagements: for that the payment of his arrears alone, was not sufficient to maintain him in the quiet possession of his State, without some other support besides that of the Florentines. So that if he was abandoned by the Venetians, he must do as well as he could for himself; hinting, at the same time, that he would go over to the Duke.

These cavils and double dealings exceedingly chagrined the Florentines, who saw that they must not only give up all thoughts of making themselves masters of Lucca, but provide for the safety of their own dominions, which would be in great danger if the Duke and the Count should join forces against them. They sent Cosimo de' Medici, therefore, to Venice, in hopes that a man of his reputation would be able to prevail upon the Venetians to perform their engagements with the Count. But after the affair had been thoroughly discussed in the Senate, and he had represented to them at large the state of affairs in Italy at that time, the greatness of the Duke's power, the reputation of his arms, and shewed them, that if he was reinforced by the Count, they would be driven back again to the Sea, and the Florentines in the utmost danger of losing their liberties; the Venetians made answer, "That they knew their own strength, and that of the other Italian States, and trusted they should be able to defend themselves upon occasion. That it was not the custom of their Republic to pay

ſoldiers who fought for others; and therefore, they thought the Florentines ought to pay the Count, as they had employed him. That in order to enjoy their dominions with ſecurity, it was more neceſſary to humble his pride, than to ſupport it by penſions: for as his ambition had no bounds, if they now paid him his demands, when he had done them no ſervice, he would ſoon make others, which perhaps might be more dangerous and diſhonourable to them. That it appeared of the laſt conſequence to them, to curb his inſolence in time, and not ſuffer it to become incorrigible: but if they were deſirous to continue him their friend, either out of fear or any other motive, they would adviſe them to pay him by all means."

Cosimo. With this diſſatisfactory anſwer, Coſimo returned to Florence. The Florentines however, earneſtly ſollicited the Count not to abandon his confederates: which indeed, he was not very deſirous to do: but his impatience to be married to the Duke's daughter, kept him in ſuch ſuſpence, that every little accident ſhook his reſolution. He had left the care of his poſſeſſions in La Marca, to Furlano, one of his principal officers; who being tempted by great offers from the Duke, quitted the Count's ſervice, and went over to him; which ſo alarmed the Count, that he laid aſide all other conſiderations, and entered into a treaty with the Duke; in which, amongſt other articles, it was agreed betwixt them, that the Duke ſhould not, for the future, interfere in the affairs of Tuſcany or Romagna. After this agreement, the Count took great pains to perſuade the Florentines to come to an accommodation with the Lucchese; and, indeed, in a manner compelled them to it: for as they ſaw there was no other hope left, they made a peace with them in the month of April 1438; by which the Lucchese were left in the enjoyment of their liberties; and the Florentines kept poſſeſſion of Monte Carlo, and ſome other fortreſſes they had taken from them. But not ſatisfied with this, they wrote letters into all parts of

Italy,

Italy, full of murmurs and complaints, that, ſince God and man had not been pleaſed to ſuffer them to reduce the Lucchese under their dominion, they had been forced to make a peace with them. And it has very ſeldom happened, that any other people has ſhewn ſo much regret at the loſs of their own territories, as the Florentines expreſſed, when they found they were not able to uſurp thoſe of their neighbours.

Notwithſtanding they were ſo buſily employed at this time in their own affairs, yet they found leiſure to attend alſo to thoſe of their friends, and to beautify their City. Niccolo Fortebraccio, who had married a daughter of the Count de' Poppi, being dead, and Poppi having got poſſeſſion of the Bourg and Citadel di San Sepulchro, during the life of his ſon-in-law, ſtill held them in the name of his widow (pretending they had been ſettled upon her) and refuſed to deliver them up to the Pope, who demanded them, as uſurped from the Church. Upon which, his Holineſs ſent the * Patriarch of Alexandria, with an army, to wreſt them out of his hands: and the Count finding he was not able to maintain them, made an offer of them to the Florentines; which they refuſed to accept; and at the Pope's return to Florence, endeavoured to accommodate matters betwixt them. But as the treaty was attended with many difficulties and delays, the Patriarch made an aſſault upon Caſentino, took Prato Vecchio, and Romena, which he likewiſe in his turn offered to the Florentines, who would have nothing to do with them, except the Pope would conſent that they ſhould reſtore them to the Count; to which, after much wrangling, he at laſt agreed, upon condition that the

* A Patriarch is a great Dignitary in the Church, above an Archbiſhop. A Biſhop preſided only over the territory of the City whereof he was Biſhop. A Metropolitan ſuperintended a Province, and had the Biſhops of it for his Suffragans. A Primate was the chief of a Dioceſe, and had ſeveral Metropolitans under him. A Patriarch had under him ſeveral Dioceſes, the Primates themſelves were ſubject to him.

Florentines would uſe their intereſt with the Count, to reſtore the Borgo di San Sepulchro to him. After his Holineſs was thus ſatisfied, the Florentines being deſirous to have Divine Service performed in their Cathedral Church of St. Reparata, (which had been many years in building, but was now finiſhed) entreated him to oblige them ſo far, as to conſecrate it himſelf: to which he willingly conſenting, a gallery was built (to heighten the ſolemnity, and ſhew greater honour to the Pope) from St. Maria Novella, where he reſided, to St. Reparata, eight yards in breadth, and four in height, under a very richly embroidered Canopy, and hung on the ſides with cloth of gold, through which his Holineſs only and his Court was to paſs, with ſuch of the Magiſtrates and principal Citizens, as were deputed to attend him; all the reſt of the people crowding into the ſtreet, the windows of their houſes, and every part of the Church, to entertain themſelves with ſo magnificent a ſpectacle. When the ceremony was over, the Pope, as a further inſtance of his reſpect for the City, conferred the honour of Knighthood upon Giuliano d' Avanzati, then Gonfalonier of Juſtice, and a Citizen of very great and long eſtabliſhed reputation: and the Signiory, out of regard to a man whom his Holineſs had been pleaſed to diſtinguiſh, likewiſe made him governor of Piſa for one year.

About this time, certain diſputes aroſe betwixt the Roman and Greek Churches, concerning their modes of Divine worſhip; in ſome particulars of which, they did not altogether agree. And as much had been ſaid upon that ſubject by the Prelates of the Weſtern Church in the laſt Seſſion of the Council held at Baſil, it was determined to uſe all means to bring the Emperor and the Greek Biſhops thither, to try if matters could be accommodated betwixt the two Churches. And though it ſeemed derogatory to the Majeſty of the Eaſtern Emperor, and mortified the pride of his Prelates to ſubmit to the Roman Pontif: yet as they were diſtreſſed by the

Turk,

Turk, and not able to defend themſelves, they thought it the beſt way to comply; that ſo they might with greater confidence demand the aſſiſtance of the weſtern Chriſtians. The Emperor therefore, together with the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, and ſeveral other Grecian Prelates and Barons, in obedience to the order of the Council, came to Venice with a deſign to proceed to Baſil: but as they were frighted at the news of the plague being there, it was reſolved that their differences ſhould be diſcuſſed and decided at Florence, where they accordingly aſſembled: and after many long debates, which laſted ſeveral days in the Cathedral Church of that City, the Greeks ſubmitted, and were reunited with the Church and Pontif of Rome *.

After a peace was concluded betwixt the Lucchese and the Florentines, and betwixt Count Sforza and the Duke of Milan, it was thought all diſturbances would have ſubſided in Italy, eſpecially in Lombardy and Tuſcany: for as to the war which was ſtill carried on betwixt Regnier of Anjou, and Alphonſo of Arragon, there was no likelyhood of its being ended, but with the ruin of either one or the other of thoſe two competitors. And though the Pope was not a little exaſperated at the loſs of ſo many towns as had been taken from him; and the ambition of the Duke

* The Council of Baſil, was only a prolongation of ſeveral others, which had been ſummoned by Pope Martin V. ſometimes at Pavia, and ſometimes at Siena: but as ſoon as Eugenius IV. was elected, in 1431, the fathers there aſſembled, began with declaring, that the Pope had neither a right to diſſolve, nor even to transfer their aſſembly; and that he himſelf was ſubject to their juriſdiction. Upon this declaration, Eugenius iſſued out a Bull to diſſolve the Council. The conteſt laſted a long time, and both the Eaſt and Weſt were engaged in it. The Greek Empire was no longer able to ſupport itſelf againſt the Turks, without the aſſiſtance of the Latin Princes; and in order to obtain a weak and very precarious ſupply, the Eaſtern Church muſt ſubmit to that of Rome. The Græcian Clergy were not at all inclined to this ſubmiſſion; nay, as their danger increaſed, they rather grew more ſtubborn. But the Emperor John Paleologus reſolved to comply, that he might ſecure ſome aſſiſtance at leaſt; and addreſſing himſelf at the ſame time, both to the Pope and to the Council, they vied with each other, who ſhould have the honour of converting the Greeks.

and the Venetians were ſufficiently known to every one; yet it was imagined his Holineſs would be forced to be quiet out of neceſſity, and the others, out of downright wearineſs. But it happened quite otherwiſe: for neither the Duke, nor the Venetians could reſt in peace; but ſoon took up arms again, and raiſed freſh wars in Lombardy and Tuſcany. The Duke's pride was piqued that the Venetians ſhould ſtill keep poſſeſſion of Bergamo and Breſcia, and ſo much the more, as he ſaw them continue armed and making excurſions every day to harraſs and ravage his other dominions; and at a time too, when he thought himſelf able, not only to curb their inſolence, but recover the towns they had ſtripped him of; eſpecially, when they were deſerted by the Pope, the Florentines, and the Count. He therefore reſolved, if poſſible, to take Romagna from the Pope, imagining, it would not be in his power to moleſt him, when he was once in poſſeſſion of that; and that the Florentines ſeeing the fire ſo near them, would not dare to move, for fear of being burnt themſelves: or, that if they ſhould, they could not eaſily do him any miſchief. He likewiſe was no ſtranger to the reſentment which the Florentines harboured againſt the Venetians, for their late behaviour to them in the affair of Lucca, and thought they would upon that account be leſs inclined to take up arms in their favour. As for Count Sforza, he concluded that the treaty he had ſo lately made with him, and the hopes of marrying his daughter, would keep him ſtill attached to his intereſts. And to avoid the imputation of perfidy, and give others the leſs occaſion to arm againſt him, he contrived matters ſo, that Niccolò Piccinino ſhould invade Romagna, (as if it was ſolely to gratify his own ambition) ſince he could not openly embark in that enterprize himſelf, without being accuſed of violating the engagement he had entered into with Sforza.

At the time when that treaty was concluded, Piccinino was in Romagna, and pretended (as it had been

been concerted betwixt him and the Duke) to be ſo highly diſguſted at the alliance he had entered into with his profeſſed enemy the Count, that he retired with his forces to Camurata, a town betwixt Furli and Ravenna; where he fortified himſelf, as if he intended to ſtay there till he could be employed by ſome other State. The report of his diſguſt being induſtriouſly ſpread abroad, he took an opportunity of repreſenting to the Pope, how ungratefully the Duke had requited him for his long and faithful ſervices: that he knew it was his deſign to make himſelf maſter of all Italy, and that he thought he ſhould be able to accompliſh it, as he had got two of the moſt experienced Commanders, and conſequently all the beſt forces of it in his ſervice. But that, if his Holineſs pleaſed, he would point out means to him, by which he could make one of thoſe Commanders, upon whom the Duke ſo much depended, become his utter enemy, and the other entirely unſerviceable: for if his Holineſs would furniſh him with money to pay his troops, he would fall upon the territories which the Count had taken from the Church, and find him ſuch employment there, that he would have no leiſure to aſſiſt the Duke in his ambitious deſigns. Theſe propoſals ſeeming feaſible enough, the Pope eagerly liſtened to them, and not only ſent him five thouſand ducats, but promiſed to provide largely both for him and his Children. And though his Holineſs was warned by ſeveral to beware of Piccinino, yet he gave no credit to them, nor would bear to hear any thing ſaid againſt him.

Oſtaſio da Polenta was Governor of Ravenna for the Church; and Piccinino now thinking it high time to proceed to the execution of his deſigns (as his ſon Franciſco had taken and plundered Spoleto, to the great diſhonour of the Pope) reſolved to make an attempt upon Ravenna; either becauſe he thought he was more likely to ſucceed in that enterprize than any other, or had a private correſpondence with the Governor: whatever might be his motive, it ſurren-

dered upon terms, after a ſiege that laſted but a few days. After which, he ſeized upon Bologna, Imola, and Furli, and which was ſtill more unexpected, out of twenty fortreſſes that were garriſoned with the Pope's troops in thoſe parts, there was not one that did not fall into the hands of Piccinino; who, not content with baſely robbing him of thoſe poſſeſſions, added inſolence to his perfidy, and told his Holineſs in a letter which he wrote to him, "that he thought he had ſerved him very right for attempting in ſo ſhameleſs a manner, to break the friendſhip that had ſo long ſubſiſted betwixt the Duke and him; and for writing letters into all parts of Italy to make people believe he had abandoned that Prince, and was gone over to the Venetians.

After Piccinino had thus made himſelf maſter of Romagna, he left the defence of it to his ſon Franciſco, and marched himſelf with the greater part of his forces into Lombardy, where he joined the reſt of the Duke's army, and falling into the territories of Breſcia, ſoon reduced all that part of the Country, and then ſat down before the city itſelf. But the Duke, who earneſtly wiſhed to ſee the Venetians deſerted by their Allies, and left alone to his mercy, took great pains to clear himſelf to the Pope, the Florentines, and Count Sforza from the ſuſpicion of being in any wiſe acceſſary to Piccinino's proceedings in Romagna; and ſaid that what he had done there was exceedingly diſpleaſing to him, as it was ſo contrary to his engagements: ſecretly aſſuring them, that at a proper time and opportunity, he would not fail to make him ſmart for his diſobedience. The Florentines and the Count, however, paid little regard to theſe proteſtations; and thought (which indeed was the caſe) that the late outrage had been committed upon the Pope with a view to check and over-awe them, whilſt he himſelf fell upon the Venetians; who thinking they were ſufficiently able of themſelves to cope with him, were ſo lofty that they diſdained to aſk aſſiſtance from any other State, and

trusted solely to their General Gattamelata to conduct the war. Count Sforza was desirous to have gone to the relief of Regnier of Anjou in the Kingdom of Naples, if he had not been prevented by the disturbances which happened in Lombardy and Romagna; and the Florentines were very well inclined to have assisted him in that enterprize, out of the amity which had always subsisted betwixt their Republic and the Crown of France. The Duke, on the contrary, would willingly have protected Alphonso of Arragon, as he had contracted a friendship with him whilst he was his prisoner. But they all had such employment at home, as would not suffer them to concern themselves in foreign affairs.

The Florentines, therefore, seeing Romagna in the hands of the Duke, and the Venetians hard pressed by him, began to apprehend that the depression of their neighbours might perhaps conduce to their own ruin. Upon which, they sollicited Sforza to come into Tuscany, that they might concert measures to prevent the Duke from making any further progress; since he was now become much more powerful than ever he had been before: adding, that if his ambition was not effectually curbed by some means or other, all the States in Italy would soon feel the effects of it. The Count was sensible that the Florentines had sufficient reason for these apprehensions: but the earnest desire he had to conclude the match with the Duke's daughter, still kept him in suspence. And the Duke, who was well aware of it, continually flattered him from time to time that it should speedily be consummated, provided he did not take up arms against him, as the lady was now of a marriageable age. Nay the farce was carried on so far, that sometimes great preparations were made for the wedding; when all on a sudden, some fresh excuse or other was found out to protract it. However, to keep him quiet and prevent all suspicion, he sent him the sum of twenty thousand Florins, which was to be her dower by the articles of mar-

marriage. In the mean time, the war began to wax hot in Lombardy, and the Venetians every day loſt ſome town or other; the Veſſels which they fitted out to cruiſe along their coaſts, were continually taken; the country about Breſcia and Verona, entirely in the enemy's hands; and thoſe two Cities ſo cloſely inveſted by the Duke's forces, that it was generally thought they could not hold out long. The Marquis of Mantua, who commanded their forces for many years, had unexpectedly left their ſervice, and gone into the Duke's: ſo that in the progreſs of the war, fear at laſt compelled them to do that, which their pride would not ſtoop to in the beginning of it. For when they began to perceive there was no other hope left but from the ſuccour of the Florentines, and Count Sforza, they condeſcended to aſk it, though not without much diffidence and ſuſpicion that the Florentines would return them ſome ſuch anſwer, as they had given the Florentines in the affair of Lucca and the Count's arrears. But they found them much readier to comply with their demands than they expected, or indeed deſerved, conſidering their late behaviour to them: ſo much more powerful was the enmity of the Florentines againſt an old inveterate enemy, than the reſentment of a ſlight they had received from an old Ally! for having long foreſeen the extremities to which the Venetians muſt of courſe be reduced, they had repreſented to the Count "that his ruin was inſeparable from theirs; that he would find himſelf deceived if he thought the Duke would treat him with ſtill greater regard, if he ſucceeded in his deſigns, than he did at preſent: that he had promiſed him his daughter, only becauſe he ſtood in fear of him; and ſince neceſſity compelled people to make promiſes, that alone could enforce the performance of them: for which reaſon, it behoved him to keep the Duke low: and that could not be effected without ſupporting the power of the Venetians. That he ought to conſider therefore, that if the Venetians ſhould be driven

driven out of their poſſeſſions upon the * Terra firma, he would not only be deprived of all the conveniencies which might accrue from their alliance, but of thoſe alſo that he might hope for from others, out of reſpect to them. That if he would reflect upon the condition of the reſt of the Italian States, he would find ſome of them very poor, and others ill affected to him. That the Florentines alone, as they had often given him to underſtand, were not able to maintain him: ſo that he was obliged, by every motive, to uſe his utmoſt endeavours that the Venetians ſhould retain their territories upon the Continent.

Theſe arguments, joined to the reſentment which the Count had now conceived againſt the Duke for duping him, as he thought, in the match with his Daughter, at laſt determined him to enter into a confederacy with them (though he would not be obliged to paſs the Po) and the articles were accordingly ſigned in February 1438: by which the Venetians were to bear two thirds, and the Florentines one third of the expences of the war; both of them engaging to defend the Count's poſſeſſions in la Marca, at their own charges. But the League thinking they had not yet ſufficient ſtrength, brought alſo the Lord of Faenza, the ſons of Pandolpho Malateſta da Rimini, and Pietro-gian-paolo Urſini into the confederacy: and though they tempted the Marquis of Mantua with large offers, they could not detach him from the Duke. The Lord of Faenza alſo (though the confederacy had agreed to his demands) finding he could have better terms, ſoon deſerted them, and went into the Duke's ſervice; which made them deſpair of putting ſo ſpeedy an end to the troubles in Romagna as they had vainly promiſed themſelves.

* So they call their dominions that lie upon the Continent, which formerly were conſiderable; but at preſent they are very much reduced, as well as their commerce and naval power. They have particular magiſtrates to ſuperintend the affairs of what poſſeſſions they have ſtill left upon the Terra firma, who are called *i ſavii della terra*: and there are yet ſeveral orders of Nobility, as Counts, Marquiſes, &c. in that part of their dominions; but they are not treated with any great regard at Venice.

Their

Their affairs in Lombardy alſo were in a bad ſituation; for Breſcia was blocked up in ſuch a manner by the Duke's forces, that it was daily expected to be obliged to ſurrender for want of proviſions. They were under the ſame apprehenſions for Verona: and if either of thoſe Cities ſhould be taken, they thought any further preparations for war, would be to no purpoſe, and all the expences they had hitherto been at, entirely thrown away. But there ſeemed to be no remedy, except the Count would march into Lombardy; and in this, there were three obſtacles to be ſurmounted. The firſt was, to prevail upon him to paſs the Po, and carry the war whitherſoever they commanded him. In the next place, they thought they ſhould be left too much expoſed when the Count was gone: as the Duke might eaſily retire into ſome of his ſtrong places, and whilſt he kept the Count at bay there with one part of his forces, he might ſend the other, in conjunction with the exiles, into Tuſcany; of which the Government of Florence was in very great apprehenſion. And laſtly, to find a ſecure route by which the Count might march with his forces into the territories of Padua, where the Venetians had aſſembled theirs. Of theſe three difficulties, the ſecond, which chiefly concerned the Florentines, ſeemed to be the moſt important. However, as the neceſſity was preſſing, and they were tired with the importunities of the Venetians, who earneſtly ſollicited them to put the Count and his forces in motion, without whoſe aid they could not pretend to do any thing, they poſtponed their own danger to the neceſſity of their Allies. The laſt point, which was a ſafe route for the Count, they left to the care of the Venetians. And ſince it was judged convenient by the Signiory to ſend Neri, the ſon of Gini Capponi, to concert meaſures with the Count and perſuade him to paſs the Po: they likewiſe determined that he ſhould go on to Venice, to make the favour appear ſtill greater to the Senate, and to expedite neceſſary proviſions there for the ſecurity of the Count's march. Neri accordingly em-

embarked at Cesena, and went by Sea to Venice, where no Prince was ever received with greater honour by the Senate, and as they thought the preservation of their dominions entirely owing to his arrival and the resolutions that would be taken upon it, he was immediately introduced into the Council, when he addressed himself to the Doge in the following manner: "Our Signiory have always been of opinion, Most Serene Prince, that the ambition of the Duke of Milan, would some time or other be the ruin both of your Republic and our own, except it was prevented by their mutual defence and support of each other: and if this Senate had likewise been of the same opinion, our affairs would have been in a better situation, and yourselves secure from the danger which now hangs over your heads. But since you have neither been pleased to put any confidence in us, nor to lend us the aid you ought to have done in our necessities, we could not run with so much eagerness to your assistance, nor you so well tell how to demand it, as both sides might have done, if you had dealt with us either in your prosperity or adversity, like the men we really are, or known that whom we once love we always love, and those that we hate we hate for ever. Our ancient affection for this illustrious Senate, yourselves can witness, who have seen Lombardy so often filled with our forces, and what losses we have sustained there to serve you: and all the world knows the hatred we bear to Philip; which we likewise shall continue to his family; for with us, the remembrance of former friendship is not extinguished by recent injuries, nor that of ancient enmity, by modern favours. We are very certain that if we had stood neuter in this war, the Duke would have thought himself much obliged to us, and that it could not have been of any great prejudice to ourselves: for if he should drive you out of Lombardy, and become sole Lord of it himself, there would still be such resources left in Italy, that we should have no occasion to despair of our own preservation: since the more

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any Prince increaſes his power and dominions, the more envy and hatred he draws upon himſelf; which give birth to wars that generally end to his diſadvantage. We likewiſe know very well, what heavy expences and what dangers we might have avoided, by not taking part with you in the war, and that by acting otherwiſe, we may probably remove the ſeat of it out of Lombardy into our own Country. All theſe conſiderations however, weighty as they are, cannot make us forget the affection we have ſo long borne to your State; and we have reſolved to ſupport it with the ſame vigour that we ſhould defend ourſelves if we were invaded. Our Signiory therefore judging it highly neceſſary, in the firſt place, to relieve Breſcia and Verona, which cannot well be effected without the aſſiſtance of Count Sforza, ſent me to perſuade him to march into Lombardy, and carry the war into what part ſoever he ſhall be directed, though ye need not be informed, illuſtrious Senators, under what obligations he is not to paſs the Po: and yet I have prevailed upon him to do it by the ſame motives that influence our own conduct. And as he is invincible in arms, he is unwilling to be outdone in point of courteſy; nay, he has even endeavoured to exceed us, if poſſible, in that franknes and generoſity which he ſaw were the rules of our behaviour to you. For though he was ſenſible to what dangers, not only his own poſſeſſions, but all Tuſcany would be expoſed in his abſence, yet when he ſaw that we had poſtponed all private intereſt and conſiderations to your ſafety, he freely did the ſame. I come therefore, illuſtrious Senators, to make you an offer of the Count's ſervice at the head of ſeven thouſand horſe, and two thouſand foot, all ready to march whitherſoever they ſhall be commanded. But it is the expectation of our Signiory, and indeed of the Count himſelf, that, as they have ſent a greater number of forces to your aſſiſtance than they were obliged to do by treaty, you will not be wanting on your part, to make him a liberal proviſion; that ſo, neither he may

may have any cauſe to repent of entering into your ſervice, nor our Republic, of having perſuaded him to it."

This ſpeech was liſtened to by the Senate with as much attention as if it had been dictated by an Oracle, and made ſuch an impreſſion, that without waiting for the Doge to make an anſwer to it (as it had always been cuſtomary) the whole aſſembly roſe from their ſeats, and with hands lifted up and tears in their eyes, returned thanks to the Republic of Florence for their affectionate regard to them; and to Neri for having executed his Commiſſion with ſo much addreſs and diſpatch. They vowed that the ſenſe of ſuch an obligation, ſhould be for ever engraved, not only upon their own hearts, but upon the hearts of their poſterity; and that for the future, they would always look upon the intereſts of the Florentines and their own to be the ſame.

When theſe emotions began to ſubſide, they proceeded to deliberate upon the route which the Count ſhould take; and upon the number of pontoons and pioneers and other proviſions that would be neceſſary to facilitate and ſecure his march. There were four different routes. One from Ravenna along the ſhore: but that being for the moſt part ſtraitened by the Sea on one hand, and Moraſſes on the other, was not approved of. The next, was the direct high road; but obſtructed by a fortreſs belonging to the Duke, called Uccellino, which muſt be reduced before they could proceed any further, and that would take up more time than they could poſſibly ſpare, as the neceſſity was urgent, and the utmoſt expedition required. The third was through the foreſt of Lugo: but as there was then a great flood upon the Po, it made the paſſage that way altogether impoſſible. There was, therefore, only one road left, which was through the plains of Bologna, and over the bridges at Puledrano, Cento and Pieve, and ſo betwixt Finale and Bondeno to Ferrara; from whence they might tranſport themſelves, partly by water and partly

partly by land, into the territories of Padua, and join the forces of the Venetians there. This way had likewiſe its difficulties, and they were liable to be attacked by the enemy in ſeveral places. However, as it was thought the beſt upon the whole, the Count had orders to take that route: upon which, he inſtantly began his march, and proceeded with ſuch expedition, that he arrived near Padua on the 20th of June.

The arrival of this commander in Lombardy revived the drooping ſpirits of the Venetians in ſuch a manner, that they, who but a little before ſeemed almoſt to deſpair of their own preſervation, now began to think of invading others. But the firſt thing which the Count attempted was the relief of Verona: to prevent which, Piccinino moved with his army to Soave, a fortreſs ſituated betwixt the territories of Vicenza and that City, where he intrenched himſelf, and threw up a Foſſe that reached from Soave to the Marſhes formed by the river Adige. But when the Count ſaw his paſſage obſtructed through the plain, he reſolved to march over the Mountains, and to puſh on that way to Verona; imagining the other would not at all ſuſpect his attempting any paſſage that way, becauſe it was exceeding rough and difficult; or if he ſhould, that he would not have time to prevent it. Having provided his army therefore with proviſions for eight days march, he paſſed the Mountains and arrived in the plains beyond Soave. And though Piccinino had raiſed ſome forts to cut off his paſſage even this way, yet they were not ſtrong enough to ſtop it. So that when he found the Count had actually paſſed the mountains, contrary to all expectation, he retired beyond the Adige, that he might avoid being forced to an engagement with him upon diſadvantageous terms: and the Count ſtill advancing, entered Verona without any oppoſition.

The firſt difficulty being thus ſurmounted, Breſcia was in the next place to be relieved. That City ſtands

ſtands near the Lake di Garda, and though it was blocked up by land, it might at all times be ſupplied with proviſions whilſt the Lake continued open. But the Duke being aware of this, had poſted troops along the banks of it, in the firſt career of his ſucceſs, and ſecured all thoſe towns that might ſend any aſſiſtance thither by water. The Venetians had alſo ſome Gallies upon the Lake, but they were not of ſufficient ſtrength to drive off the Duke's forces. Upon which account, Sforza reſolved to act in concert with thoſe Veſſels, in order to make himſelf maſter of ſuch towns, as kept the City blocked up in that ſtarving condition: and for that purpoſe, ſat down before Bandolino, a Caſtle ſituated upon the Lake; hoping, when he had taken that, the reſt would ſoon ſurrender. Fortune however was not propitious to him in this undertaking: for great numbers of his men falling ſick, he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege and retire to Zeno, a fortreſs belonging to the Veroneſe, where there was a better air and greater abundance of proviſions for them. No ſooner had the Count retired, but Piccinino, reſolving not to loſe ſo fair an opportunity of making himſelf maſter of the Lake, left his Camp at Vegaſio, and proceeded with ſome of his choiceſt troops to the banks of it, where he made ſo furious an attack upon the Venetian Veſſels which lay there, that he took the greater part of them, and got poſſeſſion of moſt of the neighbouring Caſtles. At this misfortune the Venetians were in great conſternation; and fearing Breſcia muſt now likewiſe of courſe fall into his hands, they ſent very preſſing and repeated meſſages to deſire the Count would uſe his utmoſt endeavours to prevent it. Seeing, therefore, all hopes of ſuccouring it by water were now at an end, and that it was impracticable to do it by land on that ſide, conſidering the ditches, redoubts, and other obſtacles that Piccinino had thrown in the way, which would ſo embarraſs his forces, if he ſhould engage the enemy there, that they muſt inevitably be defeated, he de-

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termined to try whether it was not poſſible to paſs the Mountains and relieve the town that way, as he had done Verona. With this deſign he quitted Zeno, and marching through the Vale of Acri to the Lake of St. Andrew, he proceeded to Torboli and Penda upon the Lake di Garda; from whence he advanced to Tenna, which he laid ſiege to, as it was neceſſary to reduce that fortreſs before he could get to Breſcia. But Piccinino having intelligence of his march, moved with his army to Peſchiera, where he joined the Marquis of Mantua, and having picked out a body of his very beſt troops, he advanced to give the Count battle, and the Count not declining it, Piccinino's forces were entirely routed, ſome of them being taken priſoners, others flying to the main body of their army, and the reſt to the Gallies upon the Lake. Piccinino himſelf retired to Tenna the ſame night, and conſidering with himſelf that if he ſtaid there till morning, he muſt certainly fall into the hands of the enemy, he reſolved to run the laſt riſque to avoid ſo imminent a danger. Of all his followers he had only one German ſervant left with him, who was a very luſty ſtrong fellow, and had always been exceeding faithful to him. This man he perſuaded to put him into a Sack, and to place him on his ſhoulders, as if he was carrying his maſter's baggage, and by that means convey him to ſome place of ſecurity. And as the enemy's army lay round Tenna after the Victory they had gained, in a careleſs and ſecure manner, without poſting any guards, or obſerving the leaſt order, the German found no great difficulty in effecting it. For having put on a ſutler's coat, he took his maſter upon his ſhoulders, as if he had got a ſack full of baggage or plunder, and carried him through the whole camp ſafe to his own army, without any moleſtation or interruption.

If this Victory had been improved with the ſame good conduct that it was obtained, Breſcia might have been effectually relieved, and the Venetians have reaped

reaped greater advantages from it. But for want of that, the rejoycings of the one were very ſhort, and the other was left in the ſame diſtreſsful circumſtances. For as ſoon as Piccinino had got ſafe back again to his forces, he reſolved to go upon ſome new enterprize; the ſucceſs of which, might wipe off the diſgrace of his late defeat, and prevent the Venetians from throwing any ſuccours into Breſcia. He was well acquainted himſelf with the ſituation of the Citadel of Verona, and had been informed, by ſome priſoners whom he had taken in the beginning of the war, it was ſo careleſsly guarded that he might eaſily make himſelf maſter of it. He therefore determined not to neglect an opportunity, which fortune ſeemed purpoſely to have thrown in his way, of retrieving his own honour, and putting an end to the exultations of the enemy upon their Victory, by a ſtroke that might give them occaſion to alter their note. Verona is in Lombardy, and ſituated at the foot of thoſe Mountains that ſeparate Italy from Germany, in ſuch a manner, that one part of it ſtands upon the ſkirts of the Hills, and the other upon the Plain. To the North of this, in the Valley of Trent, the river Adige has its ſource, and at its entrance into Italy does not immediately take a ſtrait courſe along the plains, but turning to the left and winding about the bottom of the Mountains, paſſes through that City; which it divides, but not into equal parts; for that next the plain is much larger than the other. Above the latter are the two Forts of St. Pietro and St. Felice, which ſeem better fortified by nature than art, and ſtanding upon the heights command the whole town. On the other ſide of the River, in the part next the plain, there are alſo two Caſtles joined by the wall of the town, and at the diſtance of about a thouſand paces from each other; one of them called the *Old*, and the other the *New Citadel*. From the former, there runs a wall in a ſtrait line to the latter, that may be reſembled to the ſtring of a bow, which the wall of the town forms in its range betwixt the

two fortreſſes: and the ſpace betwixt one wall and the other, commonly called the Bourg of St. Zeno, is full of houſes and inhabitants. Theſe two fortreſſes and the Bourg, it was Piccinino's deſign to ſurprize; and he thought it would be no difficult matter to effect it, conſidering the negligence and ſecurity of the Garriſon, which in all probability would be ſtill increaſed by the late Victory; and becauſe he knew by late experience that no enterprize was more likely to ſucceed than one that was judged impracticable by the enemy. Having, therefore, drawn out a picked body of men for this purpoſe, he advanced with the Marquis of Mantua in the dead of the night to the walls of Verona, and making a ſudden Scalado upon the new Citadel, he carried it almoſt before the enemy knew any thing of the matter. From thence he deſcended with his men into the town, and broke open St. Anthony's Gate, through which he let in all his Cavalry. But the Centinels of the old Citadel hearing the out-cries of thoſe that had been ſurprized in the new one, and the noiſe that was made at the breaking down of St. Anthony's Gate, at laſt perceived the enemy was upon them, and immediately began to beat their drums and ring the alarm bells, to raiſe the people. Upon which, thoſe of the Citizens that were moſt courageous took up arms, and ran in great confuſion to the Piazza before the Palace of the Magiſtrates. In the mean time, Piccinino's forces had taken poſſeſſion of the Bourg of St. Zeno, and were puſhing forward into the town, when the Citizens finding they were the Duke's troops, and that there was no poſſibility of defending themſelves againſt them, adviſed the Magiſtrates to retire into the Forts, to ſave their own lives, and the City from being plundered; as it would be much better to do that, and wait for a change of fortune, than to be murdered themſelves, and provoke the enemy to ſhew no mercy to the City.

The Magiſtrates therefore, and all the reſt of the Venetians, took ſhelter in the fort of St. Felice; and ſome

ſome of the principal Citizens going to wait upon Piccinino, and the Marquis of Mantua, intreated them to receive the City into their hands, rich and flouriſhing as it then was, which would very much increaſe their reputation; rather than ſuffer it to be rifled and ſacked, to their great infamy and diſgrace: eſpecially as they had not taken much pains to oblige their former Maſters, nor deſerved to incur the diſpleaſure of their new ones by an obſtinate reſiſtance. Upon this ſubmiſſion, they were favourably received by Piccinino and the Marquis, who endeavoured to reſtrain the licentiouſneſs of their ſoldiers as much as they could, and prevent the City from being plundered: but as they were certain Count Sforza would uſe his utmoſt endeavours to recover it, they took all poſſible means to get the reſt of the ſtrong places into their hands; and ſuch as they could not make themſelves maſters of, they ſeparated from the town, and ſurrounded with foſſes and other works, to prevent the enemy from throwing ſuccours into them, and thoſe that were already there from annoying the town.

Upon the firſt rumour of this loſs, Count Sforza, who then lay with his army at Tenna, could not give credit to it: but when he was convinced of the truth of it, from more certain intelligence, he determined to make ſpeedy amends for his paſt negligence. And though it was the opinion of all his principal officers, that he ought to poſtpone the relief of Verona and Breſcia, and march directly to Vicenza, for fear of being ſurrounded by the enemy, where he was; yet he would not liſten to their advice, but reſolved to uſe all means for the recovery of Verona: and addreſſing himſelf, in the concluſion of the debate (which had been occaſioned by ſuch a difference in their judgment) to the Venetian * Proveditores, and Bernardetto de' Medici, the Florentine Commiſſary,

* A Proveditore is the ſame in the Venetian armies, as a Commiſſary in the Florentine.

he aſſured them, that he would certainly retake that town, if any one of the fortreſſes there ſtill held out for him. For this purpoſe, having put his army in good order, he marched with all expedition towards Verona. At the ſight of his vanguard, Piccinino imagined he had been going to Vicenza, as his officers had adviſed him: however, when he perceived that he ſtill advanced and bent his courſe towards the fort of St. Felice, he began to prepare for his defence. But it was too late; for he had not yet finiſhed the barricadoes and entrenchments: and his ſoldiers being diſperſed, and buſy in plundering, could not be got together to oppoſe the Count's forces before they entered the fort. So that having gained a paſſage into the town, they ſoon retook it, to the great diſhonour of Piccinino; who, after moſt of his men were cut to pieces, retired with the reſt into the citadel, and from thence made his eſcape, in company with the Marquis, to Mantua; where he collected the remains of his army, and joined the other part of it that lay before Breſcia. In this manner Verona was taken and loſt again in the ſpace of four days, by the Duke's forces: and the Count ſeeing the winter now approaching, and the ſeaſon very cold, after he had with much difficulty thrown ſome ſupplies of proviſions into Breſcia, took up his quarters at Verona; where he gave orders for the building ſeveral Gallies at Torboli, during the winter, that ſo he might be ſtrong enough to relieve Breſcia more effectually, both by land and water, when the ſpring came on.

The winter having thus put an end to hoſtilities for a while, the Duke, who was aware that he had been defeated in his hopes of making himſelf Maſter of Breſcia and Verona, chiefly by the aſſiſtance which the enemy had received from the Florentines, whom neither the ill uſage they had met with from the Venetians could detach from their alliance, nor the offers he had tempted them with could gain over to himſelf, reſolved to invade Tuſcany, in order to make them more ſenſible of the evils they were drawing upon them.

themſelves. In this deſign he was likewiſe abetted by the inſtigations of Piccinino, and the Florentine Exiles; the former of whom, much wanted to get poſſeſſion of the ſtates that were held by Braccio, and to drive Count Sforza out of la Marca; and the latter to return to their own Country: both of them urging ſuch motives to prevail upon the Duke, as ſeemed moſt ſpecious, and beſt flattered his own ambition. Piccinino repreſented to him, "that he might ſend him with an army into Tuſcany, and ſtill keep Breſcia blocked up; as he was maſter of the Lake, had ſo many ſtrong and well garriſoned towns round about it, and would have both Commanders and ſoldiers enough to face the Count, if he ſhould make any further attempts in thoſe parts; which yet it could hardly be ſuppoſed he would do before he had relieved Breſcia, and that he thought was impoſſible: ſo that he might ſafely venture to carry the war into Tuſcany, without being obliged to diſcontinue it in Lombardy. For the Florentines, he ſaid, muſt either recall the Count when they ſaw their own Country invaded, or ſuffer it to be totally ruined: in either of which caſes his advantage would be certain." The Exiles aſſured him for their parts, "that if he would ſend Piccinino with an army to Florence, the people there, who at laſt were become deſperate under the oppreſſion and inſolence of their Governors, would inſtantly take up arms againſt them and revolt. That nothing was more eaſy than to march up to the very gates of the City; as Rinaldo degli Albizi had ſufficient intereſt with the Count of Caſentino to procure him a free paſſage through his territories." So that though the Duke was at firſt inclinable enough to engage in ſuch an undertaking, he became thoroughly determined upon it by theſe perſuaſions.

The Venetians, on the other hand, were very importunate with the Count to attempt the relief of Breſcia with all his forces, though the winter was uncommonly ſevere: but the Count ſaid, "it was not poſſible at that time, and that he muſt wait for a

milder ſeaſon; that however in the mean while, he would be getting his Fleet in readineſs to ſuccour it both by land and water." At which anſwer, the Venetians were much diſſatisfied, and afterwards proceeded ſo ſlowly in making the neceſſary proviſions for their forces, that they began to dwindle away very faſt. The Florentines alſo, when they had intelligence of their enemy's deſigns and the tardineſs of their friends, were not a little alarmed; eſpecially as they ſaw the war upon the point of being carried into their own dominions, and that their arms had met with ſo little ſucceſs in Lombardy. Nor were they leſs perplexed with the ſuſpicion they entertained of the Pope's forces; not that they thought his Holineſs himſelf was ill-affected to them, but becauſe they ſaw his troops under the command and direction of the Patriarch, who was their declared enemy, and that the ſoldiers ſhewed much greater deference to him than to the Pope.

Giovanni Vitelleſchi da Corneto, having firſt been * Apoſtolic Notary, then Biſhop of Ricanati, and next, Patriarch of Alexandria, was at laſt created Cardinal, with the title of *Cardinal of Florence.* He was a ſubtile enterprizing man, and had found means to inſinuate himſelf into the Pope's confidence to ſuch a degree, that he made him Commander in chief of his forces, and entruſted him with the ſole management of all his affairs and undertakings in Tuſcany, Romagna, the Kingdom of Naples, and even at Rome: ſo that he had gained ſuch an aſcendant both over the army and the Pope himſelf, that the one was afraid to command him, and the other to obey any one elſe. This Cardinal happened to be at Rome with his forces, when the report was ſpread that Piccinino was meditating an invaſion upon Tuſcany. A circumſtance that redoubled the apprehenſions of the Florentines, as he had ever been their enemy ſince

* An officer whoſe buſineſs it is to expedite beneficiary matters at the court of Rome.

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the banifhment of Rinaldo degli Albizi; becaufe they had not only abufed him in not obferving the agreement which had been promoted betwixt them at Florence by his mediation, but deceived Rinaldo, who had laid down his arms at his perfuafion, and furnifhed his enemies with the means of fending him into exile: fo that the government began to be afraid that Rinaldo and his friends would certainly be reftored and indemnified for all their fufferings if they fhould join Piccinino in his expedition into Tufcany. And fo much the more, as that Commander had fuddenly departed out of Lombardy, and left one undertaking that feemed almoft fure to be attended with fuccefs, to go upon another, the event of which muft be very precarious: which they thought he would not have done, if he had not had fome fecret defign or invitation. Thefe fufpicions they communicated to the Pope, who at laft began to be fenfible of the error he had been guilty of intrufting too much authority in the hands of another perfon. But whilft they were under thefe apprehenfions, an accident happened that put an end to them.

The government had Spies in all parts that kept a ftrict watch upon fuch as carried Letters, in order to detect any confpiracy that might be formed againft them: and it chanced that one of thefe intercepted a Packet at Monte Pulciano, fent from the Patriarch to Piccinino without the knowledge of the Pope, which was immediately carried to his Holinefs by the Magiftrate, who had the charge of conducting the war. And though the letters were written in an unufual character, and the fenfe of them fo obfcure that they were difficult to be interpreted with any certainty; yet thofe very circumftances, and the holding a correfpondence with his enemy, made the Pope fo jeaous that he determined to fecure him, and gave a ftrict charge for that purpofe to Antonio Rido (a Paduan lately made Governor of the Caftle of St. Angelo at Rome) who readily undertook to execute his orders as foon as he had a convenient opportunity, which

which preſently occurred. For the Patriarch intending to have gone into Tuſcany the next day, ſent word to the Governor of the Caſtle, that he deſired he would meet him in the morning at a certain hour upon the Bridge, for he had ſomething to ſay to him before he left the City: and as Antonio thought this was too favourable an opportunity to be neglected, (after he had made a proper diſpoſition for the execution of his deſign) he went at the hour appointed to the bridge, which being near the caſtle, was ſo contrived, that it might eaſily be drawn up or let down, as occaſion required, for its greater ſecurity. He had not waited long there, before the Patriarch came; and having led him by degrees in the courſe of their converſation to the other end of the bridge, he made a ſignal to have it drawn up: which being inſtantly done, he, who but the moment before had been General of the Pope's forces, now became Antonio Rido's priſoner in the caſtle of St. Angelo. His attendants, indeed, at firſt began to raiſe an out-cry; but when they were informed, that what had been done was by the Pope's orders, they were ſoon quieted; and the governor, to comfort his priſoner in the beſt manner he could, told him, "he hoped he would come to no further harm." To which the Patriarch made anſwer, "that perſons of his rank were ſeldom arreſted, only to be diſcharged again; and that thoſe who deſerved to be impriſoned, did not deſerve to be releaſed." Not long after his confinement, he died in the caſtle; and the Pope appointed Ludovico, the Patriarch of Aquileia *, Commander in chief of his forces. For tho' his Holineſs had been always unwilling before to embroil himſelf in the wars betwixt the Duke of Milan and the Confederates, he now promiſed to aſſiſt the

* This Lewis (ſays Volaterran, lib. xxii.) who was a native of Padua, having been promoted firſt to the ſenatorial dignity, for ſervices done in the field, and afterwards to the Purple, grew ſo proud, that, forgetful of his birth, he was the firſt Cardinal who preſumed to keep horſes and hounds, and to introduce a greater degree of magnificence, in feaſting, furniture, and equipage, than became that Order.

latter, if Tuſcany ſhould be invaded, with four thouſand horſe and two thouſand foot.

The Florentines, though now delivered from the fear of the Patriarch, were yet very ſuſpicious of Piccinino's deſigns, and ſo uneaſy at the confuſion in which they ſaw their affairs in Lombardy (occaſioned by the difference of opinion betwixt Count Sforza and the Venetians) that they ſent Neri, the Son of Gini Capponi, and Giuliano d'Avanzati to Venice, in order to reconcile them, if poſſible, and to ſettle the operations of the next campaign; inſtructing Neri in particular, to ſound the reſolution of the Venetians: after which, he was to go to the Count, and perſuade him to comply with ſuch meaſures as ſhould appear moſt neceſſary for the ſecurity of the League. Theſe Deputies had not got ſo far on the road as Ferrara, when they heard that Piccinino had paſſed the Po with ſix thouſand horſe, which made them haſten their journey; and when they arrived at Venice, they found the Senate there fully determined to have the relief of Breſcia attempted without further delay; ſince that City, they ſaid, could not otherwiſe hold out, for want of proviſions, till the return of the ſpring, nor till the gallies were built, but ſeeing no hope of ſuccour, muſt of neceſſity be obliged to ſurrender to the enemy; which would entirely anſwer the Duke's purpoſes, and occaſion the loſs of all their dominions upon the Terra Firma. Upon which, Neri proceeded to Verona, to hear what the Count had to ſay, in anſwer to this; who made it ſufficiently appear to him, that any endeavour to relieve Breſcia, muſt not only be ineffectual at that juncture, but of great prejudice to their future undertakings: for conſidering the time of the year, and the ſituation of that town, no ſucceſs could be expected, and he ſhould only harraſs and fatigue his troops in ſuch a manner, that when a proper ſeaſon for action came, he muſt be forced to return with his army to Verona, to ſupply himſelf with ſuch proviſions as the winter had conſumed to no purpoſe, and other neceſſaries for the ſer-

ſervice of the enſuing ſummer: ſo that all the time that ought to be employed in action, would be thrown away in fruitleſs marches and countermarches betwixt the two towns.

To obviate theſe objections, Orſatto Juſtiniani and Giovanni Piſani, were ſent to wait upon the Count at Verona; and after long debate, it was at laſt agreed amongſt them, that the Venetians ſhould increaſe the Count's ſtipend for the next year to eighty thouſand Ducats, beſides an allowance of forty Ducats for every private ſoldier: and that he ſhould not only take the field as ſoon as poſſible, with his whole army, but endeavour to penetrate into the Duke's dominions, that ſo he might be obliged to recall Piccinino into Lombardy to defend himſelf; after which agreement, the deputies all returned to Venice. But the Venetians finding ſome difficulty in raiſing ſo large a ſubſidy, proceeded very ſlowly in making the neceſſary proviſions: whilſt Piccinino, on the other hand, diligently purſued his march, and had already got into Romagna; where he tampered ſo effectually with the ſons of Pandolpho Malateſta *, that they deſerted the Venetians, and went over to the Duke. This was very unwelcome news at Venice, and much more ſo at Florence, as they had chiefly depended upon the Malateſti, to obſtruct the progreſs of Piccinino; but when it came to be known that they had revolted, it occaſioned great conſternation in the City; eſpecially as it was likewiſe apprehended, that Pietrogian-Paolo Urſini, their commander in chief, who was then in the territories of the Malateſti, muſt certainly be betrayed and defeated; by which they would be in a manner diſarmed, and deprived of all means of making any defence.

The Count himſelf likewiſe was not a little alarmed at this event. He was afraid of loſing his poſſeſſions in la Marca, if Piccinino advanced into Tuſcany: and being reſolved to attend more particularly to that

* They were Lords of Rimini, a town upon the Gulph of Venice, which now belongs to the Pope.

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point, he took poſt and went to Venice, where he immediately demanded an audience of the Senate; which being granted, he repreſented to them how neceſſary it was for the ſervice of the League, that he ſhould march with his forces into Tuſcany. "That the main ſtrength of their arms ought to be directed againſt the enemy's Commander in chief and the place where he had collected his principal force; and not to be diſſipated in fruitleſs ſkirmiſhes with Garriſons and attacks upon particular towns. That if the Duke's army could once be broken, there muſt be an end of the war; but if that was ſuffered to remain entire, the war would ſtill be carried on with greater vigour, even after his fortreſſes were reduced, as it almoſt always happened in ſuch caſes. That if Piccinino was not reſolutely oppoſed, both la Marca and Tuſcany muſt inevitably be loſt; after which, their affairs in Lombardy would become deſperate. But if there ſhould be any hopes left of retrieving them, he thought it could not reaſonably be expected that he ſhould abandon the care of his own ſubjects and friends; for as he was a Prince when he came into Lombardy, he did not deſign to ſtay there till he had nothing left but the title of a private Commander." To which the Doge made anſwer, "that if he left Lombardy, nay, if he ſhould only repaſs the Po with his army, all their dominions upon the Terra firma would moſt certainly be loſt, and therefore, they ſhould not throw away any more money to defend them; as it would be ſimple to uſe any endeavours to ſave what could not poſſibly be maintained, and leſs prejudicial and diſhonourable too to loſe thoſe territories only, than to loſe both them and their money together. And if that ſhould be the caſe, it would then plainly appear, though perhaps too late, of what importance the preſervation of the Venetian dominions in thoſe parts, would have been for the protection of Tuſcany and Romagna. Upon which account, they could not by any means approve of the meaſures he recommended, ſince they very well knew whoſoever was

was maſter in Lombardy would be maſter every where elſe: and in that there could not be much difficulty; for now Piccinino had withdrawn his forces out of it, the Duke's dominions were left ſo expoſed that they might be wholly over-run before that Commander could poſſibly return, or any other remedy be provided. That if any one would maturely conſider the matter, he would find that the Duke had ſent Piccinino into Tuſcany with no other view but to divert the Count from his preſent undertaking, and to remove the war out of his own Country into another. So that if the Count ſhould follow him, before there was any abſolute neceſſity for it, he would fall into the ſnare, and ſuffer him to gain his ends: but if they ſtill kept their forces in Lombardy, and made the beſt proviſion they could in Tuſcany, he muſt ſoon be aware of his error, and find that he had entirely loſt every thing in one, and gained nothing in the other." After the matter had been thoroughly diſcuſſed, and every one had given his opinion, it was concluded to wait a little while to ſee what effects the new alliance betwixt Piccinino and the Malateſti would produce; what Pietro-gian-Paolo Urſini, the Florentine General, would be able to do; and whether the Pope really deſigned to perform the promiſes he had made to the League. A few days after this reſolution, they had intelligence that the Malateſti had entered into that alliance by downright compulſion, and not out of any diſaffection or ill will to the Florentines; that Urſini was gone with his forces towards Tuſcany; and that the Pope was better inclined to aſſiſt the confederates than ever he had been before. Upon which, the Count was ſo well ſatisfied, that he conſented to ſtay in Lombardy, and that Neri Capponi ſhould return to Florence with a thouſand of his horſe and five hundred others. That if affairs ſhould take ſuch a turn as to make his preſence neceſſary in Tuſcany, they ſhould let him know, and he would immediately repair thither. Neri therefore proceeded with thoſe forces towards Florence, and arrived there

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in April, on the ſame day that Urſini likewiſe returned to that City.

In the mean time, Piccinino having made all neceſſary diſpoſitions in Romagna, deſigned to have proceeded in his march to Tuſcany over the Mountains of St. Benedetto and through the Vale of Montone, but he found thoſe defiles ſo well guarded by Niccolo da Piſa, that any attempt to force a paſſage that way muſt be to no purpoſe. And ſince this invaſion was ſo ſudden, and the Florentines were but ill provided with Officers and Soldiers, they had ſent only a few companies of new raiſed foot to defend the other paſſes in thoſe Mountains, under the command of ſome of their own Citizens: amongſt whom was Meſſer Bartolomeo Orlandini, who had the charge of defending a Fort at Marradi, which ſecured the paſſage that way. The paſs at St. Benedetto therefore, being ſo bravely maintained that Piccinino had no hopes of ſucceeding there, he determined to try what might be done at Marradi, where he knew the Commander was not a man of any great courage. Marradi is a fort ſituated at the foot of thoſe Mountains that ſeparate Tuſcany from Romagna, but on that ſide of them which lies next to the latter, and at the entrance of the Vale of Lamona. And tho' it has no walls, it is otherwiſe pretty well fortified by a river that runs cloſe to it, as well as by the Mountains and the valour of the inhabitants, who are very courageous and faithful: for the banks of the river are ſo high above the water, that it is impoſſible to get that way into the Vale, provided a little Bridge that ſtands over the river be well defended: and on the other ſide the rocks are ſo ſteep and craggy that it is inacceſſible. But the cowardice of Orlandini ſtruck a panic into his men and made the ſituation of no ſignificance: for he no ſooner heard of the enemy's approach but he quitted the place and ran away as faſt as he could with all his men, and never ſtopped till he came to the Bourg of St. Lorenzo. Piccinino at his arrival was not a little

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ſurprized to find a paſs of ſuch importance ſo meanly abandoned, and overjoyed that he had got poſſeſſion of it. For he immediately marched down into the Vale of Mugello, where he ſeized upon ſeveral Caſtles, and at laſt took up his quarters at Puliciano; from whence he made incurſions into the neighbouring territories, as far as the Mountains of Fieſole; and grew ſo bold at laſt, that he paſſed the Arno, plundering and ravaging all the Country till he came within three miles of Florence.

The Florentines however were not at all diſmayed at theſe proceedings, but in the firſt place began to ſtrengthen the hands of the Government, which yet ſtood upon a pretty good bottom, conſidering the popularity that Coſimo de' Medici had gained by his benevolence, and that the ſupreme Magiſtracy was veſted in a very few of the principal Citizens, who kept a ſtrict hand upon ſuch as they thought diſaffected or deſirous of a change. They knew that Neri Capponi was bringing back with him a good body of horſe, and depended upon the Pope's aſſiſtance; the hopes of which kept up their Spirits till the return of Neri: who at his arrival, finding the City under ſome apprehenſion, reſolved to take the field, in order to check Piccinino's career and prevent him from making ſuch terrible devaſtation in the Country. For this purpoſe, having raiſed what number of foot he could in the City to join his horſe, he marched out and retook Remole, which the Duke's forces had got poſſeſſion of: after which, he encamped near that place, and ſent the Citizens word, that he had already put an end to the enemy's depredations, and hoped in a ſhort time to drive him entirely out of their territories. But Piccinino finding that every thing was quiet at Florence, and nobody offered to raiſe any commotion there, (as he expected) though there were now no forces left in the city to over-awe them, determined not to throw away his time to no purpoſe, but to go upon ſome other undertaking that might provoke the Florentine troops

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to follow him, and give him an opportunity of coming to an engagement with them, in which he made no doubt of routing them, and then he thought he ſhould be able to carry every thing before him.

Franciſco Count of Poppi (though he entered into the League with the Florentines) had revolted from them when the enemy penetrated into the vale of Mugello, and was at that time with Piccinino's army. And as the Florentines had always ſome ſuſpicion of his ſincerity from the firſt, they endeavoured to attach him more firmly to their intereſt by augmenting his ſtipend, and making him intendant over all their towns that lay near him. Yet (ſuch is the prevalence of party ſpirit in ſome men) neither the ſenſe of paſt favours nor the apprehenſion of future danger, could make him forget his connexions with Rinaldo degli Albizi, and thoſe that had formerly been his aſſociates in the government of Florence. So that as ſoon as he heard of Piccinino's approach, he not only went and joined him immediately, but adviſed him to leave the neighbourhood of Florence, and march towards Caſentino; acquainting him with the faſtneſſes of that Country, and repreſenting to him, with how much eaſe and ſecurity to himſelf, he might from thence more effectually harraſs and diſtreſs the enemy. Piccinino followed this advice, and advancing into the territory of Caſentino, firſt took Romena and Bibiena, and then laid ſiege to the Caſtle of St. Niccolo. This Caſtle ſtands upon the ſkirts of the Mountains that divide the State of Caſentino from the Vale of Arno; and as it was ſituated upon an eminence and well garriſoned, it was not eaſily reduced, though he battered it day and night with ſuch engines and * artillery as he had. This Siege

* The original ſays, *ancorà che Niccola continuamente con briccole e ſimile artiglierie lo combatteſſe.* Machiavel ſays, in the latter end of the firſt book of this hiſtory, that great guns were firſt uſed in the wars that happened betwixt the Venetians and the Genoeſe, about the iſland of Tenedos, in the year 1376, or thereabout. But we don't find the leaſt notice taken of them in any of the field engage-

had lasted twenty days; during which time, the Florentines assembled more forces, having got together about three thousand horse at Fegghine, and taken several other Officers into their pay under the command of Ursini their General, Neri Capponi, and † Bernardo de' Medici their Commissaries. At that place they received intelligence of the distress to which the Castle was reduced, by four different Messengers who were sent from thence to desire immediate relief. But the Commissaries having reconnoitred the Country, found it impossible to send the Besieged relief any other way than over the Mountains that extend themselves from the Vale of Arno; the heights of which, perhaps, might be occupied by the enemy before the succours could get thither, as they were so much further from them, and could not conceal their march: so that there was no hope of succeeding in such an attempt, and their army must otherwise be entirely ruined by it. They sent the Messengers back again therefore to the besieged with high commendations of their fidelity, and instructions to capitulate when they found they could defend themselves no longer.

After a siege of two and thirty days, Piccinino at last took the Castle; but he lost so much time in making such a trifling acquisition that it was in a great measure the ruin of his main design: for if he

ments or sieges that have hitherto been mentioned in this history, and it is much to be questioned, whether they were used in the siege of this castle. For *Broccole*, which is a very old word, does not signify *cannon*, but other warlike engines, or *tormenta bellica*; the *arbalestra*, the *catapulta*, the *balista*, and other machines of that kind, to batter and throw great stones and darts. Nor is the word *artillery* confined to great guns alone, but is often used to signify other machines and weapons of war. Thus, 1 *Sam.* xx. 40. *Jonathan gave his artillery to the lad, and said unto him, go carry them into the city*; where *arrows* are plainly meant. The same (*calaju*) occurs again, 2 *Sam.* i. 27. but is differently translated. *How are the mighty fallen, and the weapons of war perished!* or *lost*. That is, the arms and armour, which had been taken from Saul and his sons, and placed as trophies in the temple of *Ashtaroth*, after they were slain by the Philistines. The Septuagint in both places says, κατασκευη πολεμικα, *military apparatus*.

† The author sometimes calls him Bernardo, and sometimes Bernardetto de' Medici.

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had continued nearer Florence with his army, the Governors of the City would have found much greater difficulty in raiſing money and forces and making other neceſſary proviſions, whilſt the enemy was in a manner at their gates, than they did after he had retired: and many of the diſaffected party would have inclined to ſome accommodation with Piccinino, to prevent the expences of a war, which they ſaw was not likely to be ſoon ended. But the impatience of Count Poppi to be revenged of the governors of thoſe fortreſſes, with whom he had long been at enmity, induced him to adviſe thoſe meaſures; and Piccinino took them to gratify him; which proved the deſtruction of them both in the end. And indeed it generally happens that private intereſts and paſſions are highly prejudicial to public undertakings.

Piccinino purſuing his ſucceſs, took Raſſina and Chiuſi; in the neighbourhood of which, Count Poppi perſuaded him to fix his quarters, as he might extend his forces from thence to Capreſe, and from Capreſe to Pieve; by which he would become maſter of all the paſſes in the mountains, and might then make incurſions at his pleaſure into the territories of Caſentino, the vales of Arno, Chiana, and Tevere, and be ready to attack the enemy, if they ſhould offer to move. But Piccinino conſidering the roughneſs and barrenneſs of thoſe parts, told him, *his horſes could not eat ſtones*; and proceeding to the Bourg of St. Sepulchro, where he was received as a friend, he then began to treat at a diſtance with the people of Caſtello, to ſee if he could corrupt them; but they were too firmly attached to the Florentines to be moved by his offers. However, as he was deſirous to engage the Perugians in his intereſts, he went to Perugia with forty horſe, where he was honourably received on account of his being their fellow-citizen. But they ſoon began to look upon him with a ſuſpicious eye, when they ſaw him tampering with the Legate there, and ſome other Citizens, to whom he

made ſeveral propoſals; all which being rejected, he returned to his army with a preſent of eight thouſand ducats, which they had made him. After this, he formed a deſign of taking Cortona from the Florentines, by a conſpiracy, in which he had engaged ſome of the inhabitants: but this alſo miſcarried, as it was diſcovered in good time. For the evening before it was to have been put in execution, Bartolomeo di Senſo, one of the principal Citizens, going to mount guard by the Governor's order, at one of the gates of the town, was warned by a friend not to go thither, except he had a mind to be ſlain: and upon aſking what his friend meant by that advice, he was informed of the whole affair, and immediately communicated it to the Governor. But the Governor having ſecured the chief conſpirators, and doubled the guards at that gate, waited there for the arrival of Piccinino: who, according to agreement, came at a certain hour in the night: but finding his deſign was blown, he returned to his former quarters.

Whilſt things were thus circumſtanced in Tuſcany, where the Duke's arms made but a feeble progreſs, his affairs in Lombardy were in a ſtill worſe ſituation. For Count Sforza had begun the Campaign there as ſoon as ever the ſeaſon permitted him: and the Venetians having got a new fleet in readineſs, he determined in the firſt place to make himſelf maſter of the Lake di Garda, and to drive the Duke's forces entirely away from it; imagining when he had done that, he ſhould eaſily ſucceed in his other deſigns. For this purpoſe, he attacked them with his gallies, and not only defeated them, but took the caſtles they had got poſſeſſion of: and the reſt of the Duke's army, which inveſted Breſcia by land, hearing of this overthrow, immediately raiſed the ſiege, and left that City at large, after it had been blocked up three years. Upon this ſucceſs, the Count marched after the enemy, who had retreated to Soncino, a caſtle upon the river Oglio; from whence he diſlodged them, and obliged them to retire to Cremona, where they

they made a ſtand, and reſolved to defend that part of the Country. But as the Count now diſtreſſed the Duke more and more every day, he began to be afraid of loſing ſome part of his dominions at leaſt, if not all: and being ſenſible of the error he had committed in ſending Piccinino into Tuſcany, he reſolved to remedy it if he could, as ſoon as poſſible; for which purpoſe, he wrote to acquaint him in what condition his affairs were; ordering him to quit Tuſcany immediately, whatever progreſs he might have there, and return into Lombardy.

The Florentines in the mean time having collected all their forces under their Commiſſaries, were joined by thoſe of the Pope at Anghiari, a Caſtle at the foot of the mountains which part the Vale of Tevere from that of Chiana, about four miles from the Bourg of St. Sepulchro. The Country round about was plain and even, and the fields large and fit for horſe to act in, if they ſhould come to an engagement. But as the Commiſſaries had heard of the advantages which Count Sforza had gained, and that Piccinino was recalled, they were in hopes of putting an end to the war without drawing the ſword or any further trouble; and therefore ſent them orders to avoid an engagement by all means, ſince that Commander could not ſtay many days longer in Tuſcany. Piccinino having intelligence of theſe orders, and finding himſelf obliged to leave the Country, reſolved to make his utmoſt efforts at the laſt, and to give them battle; hoping to take them unprepared, as it was not their intention to fight him. To this, he was likewiſe earneſtly perſuaded by Rinaldo degli Albizi, Count Poppi, and the reſt of the Florentine exiles, who ſaw they ſhould have no hopes after Piccinino abandoned them; but that if they came to an action, they probably might gain a Victory and ſucceed in their wiſhes; and if they loſt the day, they ſhould not be in worſe circumſtances than they were before.

With this resolution, he moved with his forces from the place where he then lay, which was betwixt Castello and the Bourg, and arriving at the latter before the enemy had any notice of it, he drew two thousand men out of that town, who, confiding in the valour of their General, and allured by the promises he made them, followed him in hopes of enriching themselves with plunder. From thence he proceeded with his army in order of battle directly towards Anghiari, and had advanced within less than two miles of that place: when Micheletto Attendulo perceiving a great cloud of dust raised at a distance, suspected the enemy was approaching, and immediately gave the alarm. Great was the confusion in the Florentine Camp upon this occasion. For though indeed very little order or discipline was ever observed by armies in their encampments in those days, yet the supineness of the Florentines was at this time greater than ordinary: and as they thought the enemy had been not only at a much greater distance, but rather inclined to retreat than hazard an engagement, most of them had laid aside their arms and straggled away to places at a distance from the Camp, either to enjoy the shade (as the weather was then very hot) or indulge themselves in some other pleasure. Yet such was the diligence of the Commissaries and the General in getting them together, that they were all mounted and ready drawn up to receive the enemy before they arrived. And as Attendulo was the first that discovered them, he likewise sustained their first shock; having posted himself with the men under his Command on a Bridge that lay upon the road at a little distance from Anghiari. Upon the approach of the enemy, Ursini had caused the banks and ditches to be levelled, which lay on each side of the way betwixt Anghiari and the Bridge; and Attendulo having taken possession of the Bridge itself, the Cavalry were placed to the right of him, under Simoncino Commander of the Forces of the Church, and the Pope's Legate; and to the left, under the Flo-

Florentine Commiſſaries and their General Urſini; the Infantry extending themſelves on each hand along the banks of the River. The enemy therefore, had no way to come at them but over the Bridge; nor could the Florentines be forced to engage in any other place. Upon which account they ordered their foot to ply that of the enemy briſkly with their Croſs-bows, if they ſhould quit the high road and fall to the right and left of their own gens d'armes; that ſo they might be prevented from taking their horſe in flank, as they paſſed or repaſſed the Bridge. Thoſe that made the firſt attack were bravely received and repulſed by Attendulo: but Aſtorre and Franciſco Piccinino * advancing to their relief with a picked body of men, charged him ſo furiouſly, that they obliged him to quit the Bridge, and purſued him to the bottom of the hill upon which Anghiari ſtands, from whence they were driven back and forced over the Bridge again by the Infantry that attacked them in flank. The diſpute laſted in this manner for the ſpace of two hours; during which, ſometimes Piccinino's forces, and ſometimes the Florentines were Maſters of the Bridge. And though the ſucceſs of each party was nearly the ſame upon the Bridge, yet Piccinino had much the worſt of it on both ſides of the River. For whenever his forces poſſeſſed the Bridge, they found thoſe of the enemy well drawn up and ready to act as occaſion required; (an advantage that was gained by the precaution they had taken to level the banks and ditches on their ſide) ſo that when any of their men were hard puſhed and began to faint, they were immediately relieved by a freſh party. On the other hand, when the Florentines paſſed it, Piccinino was ſo embarraſſed with the banks and ditches on his ſide, that he found it very difficult to relieve his troops: and though they often gained the Bridge, they were conſtantly driven back again by the enemy. The Flo-

* He was ſon to the General, Niccolo Piccinino.

rentines therefore having once more got poſſeſſion of it, and puſhing forward into the road on the other ſide with great fury, Piccinino found himſelf ſtraitened in ſuch a manner by his ſituation, that he had neither time nor room to ſuccour his men that were giving way: ſo that thoſe who were in the front recoiling upon the rear, his whole army was thrown into ſuch confuſion, that they at laſt turned their backs and fled with the utmoſt precipitation towards the Bourg of St. Sepulchro. Upon which, the Florentine Soldiers, inſtead of purſuing them, began to plunder and ſtrip the priſoners they had taken, of their horſes, arms and accoutrements, and what elſe they had: and indeed the booty was not inconſiderable: for there were not quite a thouſand horſe that eſcaped with Piccinino. And the inhabitants of St. Sepulchro who had followed him for the ſake of plunder, being all taken, with the loſs of their baggage and colours, were not only ſtripped themſelves, but afterwards forced to pay a ranſom for their liberty. This Victory was of great conſequence to the Florentines, though not very prejudicial to the Duke's affairs: for if *they* had loſt the day, all Tuſcany muſt have fallen into his hands. But as *his* forces were routed, he loſt nothing but their arms and horſes; a damage that might be repaired at no conſiderable expence. Indeed it never happened that invaſions were made with leſs danger and ſlaughter on the ſide of the invaders, than in theſe times: for in a battle that laſted four hours, and in ſo total an overthrow, there was but one man killed; and he too, not by the edge of the ſword, or in any honourable attempt, but by a fall from his horſe to the ground, where he was trampled to death in the rout. With ſo much ſecurity did they make war in thoſe days! for moſt of the ſoldiers being mounted on horſeback and covered with armour, had but little occaſion to fear death in any engagement: and if they were defeated and ſurrendered, they commonly had their lives ſpared.

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This battle, and what immediately happened after it, may ſerve to ſhew the weak and pitiful manner in which they made war in thoſe times. For as ſoon as Piccinino was routed and had fled to St. Sepulchro, the Commiſſaries, to make their Victory complete, intended to have purſued and ſhut him up there: but there was not ſo much as one of their officers, nor even a private ſoldier that would follow them, till they had laid up their plunder in ſome place of ſecurity, and got cured of the wounds they pretended to have received. And, which was ſtill more remarkable and audacious, they went off the next day, openly in a body, and without aſking any leave either from their Commiſſaries or General, to Arezzo; from whence, after they had ſecured their booty, they returned to Anghiari. A manner of proceeding ſo contrary to all military rule and order, that the ſmalleſt remnant of a well-diſciplined army, would eaſily and deſervedly have recovered a Victory out of their hands which they ſo little merited. Nay they preſently releaſed all the gens d' armes or heavy armed horſe they had taken priſoners, in ſpite of the Commiſſaries who would have had them detained in order to deprive Piccinino of their ſervice. Certainly it muſt ſeem aſtoniſhing that ſuch an army ſhould ever gain a Victory, and ſtill more ſo, that another ſhould be found vile and daſtardly enough to be beaten by ſo contemptible an enemy.

Whilſt they were thus taken up in going to Arezzo and back again, Piccinino marched away with the remainder of his forces from St. Sepulchro towards Romagna and took the Florentine exiles along with him, who now falling into deſpair of ever returning to their own Country, diſperſed themſelves into different parts of Italy and other States, every man providing for himſelf as well as he could. Rinaldo degli Albizi retired to Ancona; and having loſt all hopes in this world, he went a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, in order to prepare himſelf for a better. Soon after his return from thence he died ſuddenly at dinner,

ner, whilſt he was celebrating the marriage of one of his daughters: fortune ſeeming favourable to him in this at leaſt, that he was taken away in one of the happieſt days of his exile. He was a man truly reſpectable in all the different conditions of his life, and would have been ſtill more ſo, if he had been born in an united City: for many of his good qualities which excited envy and jealouſy amongſt his fellow-citizens in a factious Commonwealth, would have been admired and rewarded any where elſe.

After the departure of Piccinino and the return of the Florentine forces from Arezzo, the Commiſſaries advanced with them to St. Sepulchro, the inhabitants of which place offered to ſurrender to them, but upon terms that they did not think fit to grant. And whilſt they were yet in treaty, the Pope's Legate * beginning to grow ſuſpicious that the Florentines were not willing that town ſhould revert into the hands of the Church, was ſo enraged, that very high words paſſed betwixt him and the Commiſſaries; and the troops commanded by each would certainly have come to blows if the treaty had continued much longer: but that being ended at laſt to the ſatisfaction of the Legate, their differences were compoſed. Whilſt theſe things were in agitation, they had intelligence from ſome quarters that Piccinino was marching towards Rome, and from others that he was gone into la Marca d' Ancona. Upon which, the Legate determined that Count Sforza's troops ſhould advance towards Perugia, in order to relieve either la Marca, or Rome, to which ſoever of the two he had bent his courſe, and that Bernardo de' Medici ſhould go along with them; whilſt Neri Capponi went with the Florentine forces to reduce Caſentino. Upon this reſolution, Neri marched away for Raſſina, which he preſently took; and ſoon after, Bibiena, Prato Vecchio, and Romena: after which, he ſat down before Poppi, and made proper diſpoſitions for two different

* Piccinino the Patriarch of Aquilea before mentioned.

aſſaults upon that town at the ſame time; one on the ſide that looks towards the plain of Certomondo; and the other from the hill that extends itſelf from thence to Fronzoli. Count Poppi ſeeing himſelf now abandoned and deſtitute of all ſuccour, had ſhut himſelf up there; not in hopes of any relief, but to gain time and make the beſt terms he could for himſelf. So that when Neri drew cloſe to the town to make an aſſault, he demanded a parley, and had as good terms granted him as he could poſſibly expect in his circumſtances; which were, that he ſhould be ſuffered to depart himſelf with his children, and what effects they could carry with them, and immediately deliver up the poſſeſſion of the town and all his other dominions to the Florentines. During the capitulation he came out upon the bridge over the Arno which runs cloſe by the town, and with tears in his eyes thus addreſſed himſelf to Neri. "If I had rightly conſidered my own ſituation and the power of your Maſters, I ſhould now have come out as a friend to congratulate you upon your late Victory, and not as a vanquiſhed enemy to implore your pity in theſe unhappy circumſtances. Fortune indeed has given you ſufficient reaſon to rejoice, and me to weep and lament my wretchedneſs. I lately had horſes, and arms, ſubjects and dominions and riches; and who can wonder that it grieves me to loſe them? But ſince your Republic ſeems determined, and now has it in its power, to reduce all Tuſcany into ſubjection, we for our parts ſhall obey you: and it is ſome conſolation to me, that if I had not been guilty of this error, neither your generoſity nor my future gratitude might perhaps have appeared in ſo fair a light to the world. For if you ſhall be pleaſed to leave me ſtill in poſſeſſion of my dominions, it will be an illuſtrious and indelible inſtance of your clemency. My imprudence indeed has been great, but I ſubmit to your mercy and compaſſion, not without hopes that you will ſtill ſuffer me to enjoy this place of reſidence at leaſt, which has deſcended to me from Anceſtors to

whom

whom your Republic has formerly lain under many and great obligations *." To this Neri made anſwer, " that the having placed his confidence in people that were never likely to do him any ſervice, and being by that means in ſome meaſure the cauſe of the inſults offered to the Republic of Florence; theſe conſiderations, added to the circumſtances of the times, neceſſarily obliged them to deprive him of his dominions, and to turn him out of thoſe places as an enemy, which he might ſtill have enjoyed if he had behaved himſelf like a friend. That his conduct had been ſuch as would not allow them to let him continue any longer in poſſeſſion of a territory that gave him an opportunity of inſulting a Republic upon any little change of fortune, which indeed had no occaſion to ſtand in fear of his perſon, though his dominions were ſo ſituated that he might open a way at any time through them for an enemy to annoy it. But that if he thought he could by any means obtain another Principality in Germany, he was at liberty to withdraw thither, and the Republic deſired he would do it; where they ſhould not fail to ſhew him all manner of reſpect, in conſideration of the favours which he ſaid the Florentines had received from his Anceſtors." The Count replied with great indignation, " that he would endeavour to get as far as poſſible from them;" and finding there was no good to be done by intreaties and ſupplications, immediately broke off all further treaty, and giving up the town and his other poſſeſſions, except his perſonal effects, he quitted it with his wife and children, bitterly lamenting his folly and the loſs of a State which his family had governed above four hundred years. When the news of this ſucceſs arrived at Florence, it occaſioned very great rejoicings both amongſt the People and the Magiſtrates. And as Bernardo de' Medici found that Piccinino had neither advanced

* This ſpeech is almoſt wholly taken from that of Caractacus in the 12th book of Tacitus's Annals.

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towards Rome nor la Marca, as had been falſely reported, he marched back again with his forces to rejoin thoſe under the command of Neri Capponi; and both of them returning together to Florence, it was decreed that they ſhould be received with the higheſt demonſtrations of honour and reſpect that had ever been ſhewn to any of their victorious Generals: and they accordingly made their entrance into the City amidſt the public acclamations of the Signiory, the Captains of the Companies, and all their fellow-citizens.

END OF THE FIFTH BOOK.

THE

THE HISTORY OF FLORENCE.

BOOK VI.

ARGUMENT.

What is, or ought to be, the chief design of those that make war. The bounds they should prescribe to themselves. How the ancient Republics used to dispose of the booty taken from their enemies. The error of modern governments in that respect. The Duke of Milan proposes a peace to Count Sforza. The Count's answer to him. The ingratitude of the Venetians to Ostasio da Polenta. Micheletto Attenduli made General of the League. Sforza reduced to great distress by Piccinino. The insolence of the latter to the Duke of Milan. The Count marries the Duke's natural daughter. A peace concluded. Naples taken by Alphonso of Arragon. Baldaccio d' Anghiari, General of the Florentine foot, an able and experienced Commander, vilely assassinated by Bartolomeo Orlandini, a coward and poltroon. A reformation in the government of Florence. Piccinino disappointed of a certain victory by the Duke of Milan, and otherwise ill used by him, dies of grief. The Bentivogli and Canneschi, two powerful families in Bologna. The latter raise an insurrection there in favour of the Duke of Milan, and kill Annibal Bentivoglio, the head of that family; but are quelled and driven out of the City.

Reform

City. Santi, a baſtard Son of Hercules Bentivoglio, being made Governor of Bologna, and of Annibal's children, governs with great prudence. A new war in Lombardy. Count Sforza courted by all parties. The death of Pope Eugenius IV. *who is ſucceeded by Nicholas* V. *The Duke of Milan dies. The Count in deſperate Circumſtances. The Milaneſe make him Commander in Chief of their forces. The Venetians aſpire to the Duchy of Milan. King Alphonſo invades the Florentines. A mutiny amongſt the forces of the latter for want of proviſions. King Alphonſo retreats out of Tuſcany, after he had loſt many of his men. A battle betwixt the Count and the Venetians at Caravaggio, in which the latter are totally defeated. The generoſity of the Count to a Venetian Proveditore, whom he had taken priſoner. A peace concluded betwixt him and the Venetians. He deſerts the Milaneſe. The Speech of their Ambaſſador to him. His anſwer. He lays ſiege to Milan, makes a truce, and draws off his army; but returns at the expiration of the truce, and reduces the City to great diſtreſs. Coſimo de' Medici befriends him in his undertaking. The Venetians aſſiſt the Milaneſe. Count Sforza enters Milan, and is made Duke thereof, by the general conſent of the Citizens. He engages in a confederacy with the Florentines; and the King of Naples with the Venetians. The latter ſend Ambaſſadors to Florence. The anſwer of the Florentines to them, delivered by Coſimo de' Medici. The Florentines prepare for war. Frederic* III. *Emperor of Germany, comes to Florence, and proceeds to Rome, where he is crowned. Tuſcany invaded by King Alphonſo's forces. Stephen Porcari, a Roman Citizen, conſpires to deliver his Country out of the hands of the Pope and the Prelates: but fails in the attempt, and is put to death. The Vale of Bagno, by the perfidy of Gambacorta, is upon the point of being delivered up to King Alphonſo, but prevented by the bravery of Antonio Gualdani. The Florentines take poſſeſſion of it, and reduce it to a Bailiwick. The fate of Gambacorta. The Florentines and Duke of Milan, invite Regnier of Anjou, into*

Cosimo

Cosimo

Italy.

Italy. He comes with ſupplies, but ſoon leaves them and returns to France; from whence he ſends his ſon, John of Anjou, to Florence. Peace betwixt the Duke and the Venetians, Florentines, and other States. Alphonſo accedes to it. New troubles raiſed by Giacopo Piccinino, privately encouraged by Alphonſo. Pope Calixtus III. *endeavours to raiſe a Cruſade againſt the Turks. A prodigious tempeſt in Tuſcany. The Genoeſe invaded by Alphonſo. They put themſelves under the protection of John of Anjou. King Alphonſo dies and is ſucceeded by his Son Ferdinand. Calixtus dies, and Pius* II. *is choſen Pope in his room. The Genoeſe revolt from the French. The Kingdom of Naples invaded by John of Anjou, who routs Ferdinand: but the latter being reinforced by the Pope and the Duke of Milan, takes the field again, and drives his competitor out of the Kingdom.*

IT always has been, and indeed ought to be, the main end and deſign of thoſe that wage war, to enrich themſelves and impoveriſh their enemies: nor is there any other reaſonable motive to contend for victory and conqueſt, but the aggrandizement of one nation, and the depreſſion of another. From hence it neceſſarily follows, that whenever any State is impoveriſhed by its victories, or debilitated by its conqueſts, it has either proceeded too far, or fallen ſhort of thoſe purpoſes for which the war was undertaken. A Kingdom, or Commonwealth, may properly be ſaid to be enriched by victory, when it extirpates its enemies, and becomes maſter of their poſſeſſions and revenues. On the contrary, they are weakened by their victories, when they cannot utterly extinguiſh the enemy (though perhaps they may in ſome meaſure have ſubdued him) and his poſſeſſions fall into the hands, not of the State itſelf, but its ſoldiery. Such a Government ſuffers much more from a victory than a defeat: for in one caſe, it is only expoſed to the outrage of an enemy, but in the other, it is injured and oppreſſed by its own friends; which ſeeming

ing more unnatural, is likewise the more insupportable, especially when it is thereby necessitated to lay fresh taxes, and other heavy burdens upon its subjects. And if the Governors have any humanity in them, they cannot, surely, much rejoice at a victory which fills all the rest of the community with murmurs and dejection. The best governed Republics that we read of in ancient history, after they had obtained a victory, always used to throw the spoil they had taken from the enemy into the common Treasury, to distribute largesses amongst the people, to remit their taxes, and entertain them with magnificent spectacles. But the victories gained by those States, of whom we are now writing, not only exhausted their public treasure, but drained the purse of every private man, and after all, did not effectually secure them against any further attempts from their enemies. All which was owing to the absurd and ridiculous manner in which they carried on their wars: for after a battle, the conquerors generally contented themselves with striping the enemy, and seldom put any of them to death, or so much as made them prisoners: so that the vanquished always renewed the war, as soon as ever they were provided again with horses and arms by those that had taken them into their pay. And as the booty and ransom-money were claimed by the soldiery, the State, receiving no advantage from thence, was forced to tear the supplies it stood in need of, out of the bowels of its own subjects *, who had the mortification of seeing that instead of reaping any sort of benefit from a victory, it only served to make their Governors proceed with less regard and compassion in laying new burdens upon them.

These soldiers conducting the war in such a manner, reduced both the conqueror and the conquered, to the necessity of raising continual supplies at home, if they intended to maintain any authority or com-

* Does not this seem to be our own case, with regard to the captures made by our Ships of war?

mand over their forces; as one ſide expected to be new clothed and accoutred, and the other to be rewarded for their ſervices: and ſince thoſe that had been defeated could not take the field again till they were remounted, and thoſe that beat them would fight no more till they had been rewarded, it generally happened, that the former did not ſuſtain much loſs, nor the latter gain any conſiderable advantage by their victory; for the conquered had, for the moſt part, put themſelves in a condition to make head afreſh againſt the conqueror, before he was in readineſs to purſue his blow. From this perverſe and diſorderly behaviour in the ſoldiery, it happened that Piccinino had remounted his troops before the news of his defeat had reached many parts of Italy, and renewed the war with greater vigour than ever he had done before. To the ſame cauſe it was owing that he was able to ſurprize Verona: that after his forces had been diſperſed when Sforza retook that town, he was in a condition to invade Tuſcany with a powerful army: and that after his misfortune at Anghiari, he was grown ſtronger, even before he got into Romagna, than he was at the beginning of the action that happened there: ſo that the Duke of Milan now began to conceive ſome hopes of being able to defend Lombardy, which he had in a manner given up for loſt, during the abſence of that General. For whilſt Piccinino was making ſuch havock as he had done in Tuſcany, his maſter was in danger of being ſtripp'd of his own dominions; and being apprehenſive that he ſhould be totally ruined before the other could come to his relief, though he had ſent to recall him, he reſolved to try if he could not in ſome meaſure check Count Sforza's career, and divert the fury of a ſtorm by artifice and addreſs, which he was not in a capacity to reſiſt. For this purpoſe, he had recourſe to ſuch expedients as he had often availed himſelf of before in the like conjunctures, and diſpatched Niccolo da Eſti, Prince of Ferrara, to Peſchiera, where Sforza then lay, who

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earneſtly exhorted him to peace, and repreſented to him how prejudicial a continuation of the war was likely to prove to himſelf; ſince if the Duke was reduced to ſuch circumſtances that he could not ſupport his preſent power and reputation, the Count muſt be the firſt man that would ſuffer by it, as neither the Venetians nor Florentines would have any further occaſion for his ſervice, nor of courſe any longer the ſame eſteem for his perſon. And to convince him of the Duke's ſincerity in deſiring a peace, he ſolemnly aſſured him in his name, that as ſoon as one was concluded, the marriage ſhould be immediately conſummated with his daughter, whom he would ſend to Ferrara for that purpoſe, and there in perſon deliver her into his own hands. To this the Count made anſwer, "that if the Duke was really deſirous of a peace, he might eaſily obtain one, as the Venetians and Florentines were no leſs inclinable to it: but that for his own part, he could put very little confidence in him, ſince he well knew he would never make any peace, except he was compelled to it by downright neceſſity; and that, as ſoon as the danger was over, he would inſtantly renew the war: that he could not give much more credit to what he promiſed concerning the marriage, as he had been ſo often deceived by him before; but if other things could be amicably adjuſted, he would proceed in that matter as he ſhould be adviſed by his friends."

The Venetians, naturally apt to ſuſpect their Generals, even when they have no reaſon, had ſufficient cauſe to look with great jealouſy upon theſe negotiations, as indeed they did: and the Count being aware of it, endeavoured in ſome meaſure to recover their confidence by a vigorous proſecution of the war. But the uſual alacrity of the one was at laſt ſo abated by his ambitious views; and the minds of the other ſo enflamed with ſuſpicion, that no other enterpriſe worth notice was undertaken during the reſt of that Summer: ſo that when Piccinino returned

into Lombardy, the Winter being come on, the respective armies went into quarters, the Count retiring to Verona, the Duke's forces to Cremona, the Florentines into Tuscany, and those of the Pope into Romagna. The last, after the battle of Anghiari, made an assault upon Furli and Bologna, in hopes of wresting them out of the hands of Francisco Piccinino, who held them in his father's name: but they were so well defended by Francisco, that the attempt did not succeed. Their march into those parts, however, struck such a terror into the people of Ravenna, that, to avoid falling into the hands of the Church, they (with the consent of Ostasio da Polenta their Lord) put themselves under the dominion of the Venetians; who, as a recompence for that favour, and to prevent Ostasio from ever recovering by force what he had so simply given away, sent him and his only Son to spend the rest of their days in Candia. These different enterprizes had so drained the Pope of money, that notwithstanding the Victory gained at Anghiari, his Holiness was obliged to sell the Castle of Borgo di San Sepulchro to the Florentines for the sum of twenty-five thousand ducats.

Things being in this situation, and both sides thinking themselves safe from any attack during the winter, all further thoughts of peace were laid aside, especially by the Duke; who now looking upon himself as sufficiently secured, in the first place by the season of the year, and in the next by the arrival of Piccinino, had broke off his treaty with the Count, and applied himself with great diligence to furnish his General with Cavalry and all other provisions that were necessary to continue the war. The Count, on the other hand, having intelligence of these preparations, immediately repaired to Venice to concert measures with the Senate there, for opening the next campaign. As soon as Piccinino was in readiness to take the field, and perceived the enemy was yet in no capacity to oppose him, he did not wait for the approach of the Spring, but passed the Adda in

the depth of Winter, entered the territories of Brescia, and making himself master of all that Country, except Adula and Acri, surprized above two thousand of Sforza's Cavalry, who, not expecting any such visit, were all taken prisoners and stripped. But what most chagrined the Count and alarmed the Venetians, was the defection of Ciarpellone, one of his principal Officers, who had mutinied and quitted their service. Upon the news of which, he posted away from Venice to Brescia, and finding at his arrival there, that Piccinino, after he had committed the above mentioned hostilities, was returned to his former quarters and lay quiet there, he did not care to provoke him to stir out of them again at that time; but thought it more prudent to make use of the opportunity which the enemy gave him, to put his forces in good order, that so he might be able to take any advantage that offered and wipe off his late disgrace at a proper season. He therefore prevailed upon the Venetians to recall the forces they had in the service of the Florentines, and persuaded them to take Micheletto Attenduli into their pay, in the room of Gattamelata who was now dead.

At the return of the spring, Piccinino appearing first in the field, laid siege to Cignano, a Castle about twelve miles from Brescia; to the relief of which the Count likewise marched out with his forces; and the war was once more begun and conducted in the usual manner betwixt those two Generals. The Count on one side, being apprehensive that Bergamo would fall into the enemy's hand, sat down before Martinengho, a Castle so situated, that whoever was master of it might easily throw succours into Bergamo, which City was very much straitened by Piccinino; who, on the other hand, being sensible that he could not be annoyed from any other quarter, had taken care to furnish it with all manner of provisions for its defence; so that the Count was forced to bring his whole army before it. Piccinino therefore posted himself with all his forces likewise in such a situation,

that he entirely cut off all ſupplies from Sforza's camp, and fortified his own ſo ſtrongly with ditches and breaſt-works, that the Count could not attack him without manifeſt diſadvantage: ſo that the beſiegers were in much greater danger than thoſe that were beſieged. In theſe circumſtances, as the Count could neither continue the ſiege for want of proviſions, nor raiſe it for fear of Piccinino falling upon him, every body concluded the Duke muſt certainly gain a complete Victory, and that Sforza and the Venetians would be utterly undone. But by the caprice of Fortune, who takes delight in ſhewing her power to exalt her minions, and ruin ſuch as are not in her good graces, things took a very different turn: for Piccinino grew ſo intolerably inſolent and ambitious, in full confidence of Victory, that forgetting himſelf and laying aſide all due reſpect to his Prince, he ſent him word, "that as he had fought his battles ſo many years without being requited with ſo much ground as would bury him when he died, he deſired to know what reward he might expect for his ſervices: for ſince it was now in his power to make him abſolute Lord of Lombardy and deliver up all his enemies into his hands, he thought a certain Victory deſerved a certain recompence; and therefore demanded that the city of Placentia ſhould be aſſigned to him, whither he might retire to enjoy a little repoſe at laſt, after ſo long a courſe of labour and fatigue." Nay he proceeded ſo far in the end as to threaten the Duke that he would abandon the enterprize if his demands were not complied with.

But the Duke was exaſperated at this audacious behaviour to ſuch a degree, that he choſe rather to give up ſo great an advantage, than meanly to ſubmit to his inſolence; ſo that what neither the menaces of his enemies, nor the many imminent dangers he had been in, could ever move him to conſent to, he was at laſt induced to comply with by the arrogance of his friends; and immediately reſolved to come to an accommodation with the Count. For which

which purpoſe he ſent Antonio Guido Buona da Tortona to him, with an offer of his daughter, and ſuch overtures for a peace, as were eagerly accepted both by him and the reſt of the confederates.

As ſoon as the articles were privately ſigned, by all parties, the Duke ſent orders to Piccinino to make a truce with the Count for one year, pretending, "that he was ſo tired of the expences of war, that he could not help preferring a certain peace, to a victory that was ſtill doubtful." Piccinino was thunderſtruck at this reſolution, not being able to comprehend what motives could induce the Duke to let ſo glorious a victory ſlip out of his hands; little imagining that the reaſon of ſuffering his enemies to eſcape, was only to avoid recompenſing his friends. He oppoſed it, however, as much as lay in his power, and behaved in ſo refractory a manner, that in order to force him to a compliance, the Duke threatened to give him up, to be treated by the ſoldiers of both armies, as they pleaſed, if he did not inſtantly obey his orders. Upon which he was obliged to ſubmit, but with the ſame reluctance that a man may be ſuppoſed to do, who is compelled to leave his friends and country; lamenting his evil deſtiny, and complaining with much bitterneſs both of fortune and the Duke, who had conſpired together to ſnatch the victory out of his hands. After the truce was concluded, the nuptials were celebrated betwixt Madam Bianca and the Count, who received the City of Cremona with her in dower: and in November 1441. a peace was agreed upon; at the ſigning of which, Franciſco Barbadico and Paolo Trono aſſiſted as Plenipotentiaries for the Venetians, and Agnolo Acciaiuoli for the Florentines. By this treaty, the fortreſſes of Peſchiera, Aſola, and Leonato, in the Marquiſate of Mantua, were ceded to the Venetians.

Though the war in Lombardy was now at end, the kingdom of Naples was ſtill far from being in peace: and as no means could be found of quieting the diſtractions there, they proved at laſt the occaſion of

raiſing freſh combuſtions in Lombardy. For during the laſt, King Regnier had been ſtripped of every town that he had got poſſeſſion of in that Kingdom, except the city of Naples itſelf, by Alphonſo of Arragon; who now thinking himſelf ſure of the whole, determined, at the ſame time that he laid ſiege to that City, to ſeize upon Benevento *, and ſome other towns belonging to Count Sforza, in the adjacent territory, which he thought might eaſily be effected, whilſt the Count himſelf was ſo fully employed in Lombardy. And he actually ſucceeded in his deſign, making himſelf Maſter of all thoſe places with little or no difficulty. But, upon the news of a peace being concluded in Lombardy, Alphonſo grew apprehenſive, that the Count would ſoon march to join Regnier, in order to recover his own poſſeſſions; and Regnier not being without ſome expectations of the ſame kind, ſent to entreat the Count to come to the aſſiſtance of a friend, eſpecially as he might, at the ſame time, revenge himſelf upon an enemy. Alphonſo, on the other hand, earneſtly ſollicited Duke Philip, that out of regard to the friendſhip which had ſo long ſubſiſted betwixt them, he would cut out ſome work of greater conſequence to the Count, in order to divert him from this deſign. With this the Duke readily complied, not conſidering, that it would be a direct violation of the treaty he had ſo lately concluded. He, therefore, in the firſt place, ſuggeſted to Pope Eugenius, that he now had a fair opportunity of recovering the territories which Sforza had taken from the Church; and for that purpoſe, recommended Piccinino to him (who after the concluſion of a peace, had retired with his forces into Romagna) and ſaid, he would pay him out of his own purſe, as long as

* Benevento is ſituated at the confluence of the river Solato and Colore, which here form the Volturno, 130 miles ſouth eaſt of Rome, and 34 north eaſt of Naples. It is an Archbiſhoprick, ſubject to the Pope, who is ſovereign of this City. The greater part of it was demoliſhed by an earthquake, in the year 1688, and the Archbiſhop of it dug out of the ruins; who, being afterwards advanced to the Papal Chair, by the name of Benedict XIII rebuilt this City.

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the war continued. Eugenius, out of the ancient hatred which he bore to the Count, and the desire he had of recovering the possessions he usurped from him, listened with great eagerness to this proposal, and though he had formerly been duped by Piccinino, in the very same manner, he thought, now the Duke of Milan was on his side, he had no occasion to mistrust him; and therefore immediately joining his forces with those of Piccinino, he made an incursion into la Marca d' Ancona. The Count, on the other hand, though not a little surprised at so sudden an invasion, having assembled what troops he could raise, marched out to face the enemy.

In the mean time Alphonso had taken Naples; so that all the kingdom was now in his possession, except Castel Nuovo, in which Regnier had left a strong garrison, and was gone himself to Florence, where he was received with much honour: but after he had staid a few days there, and found he could no longer continue the war, he went to Marseilles. During this short interval, Castel Nuovo had likewise fallen into the hands of Alphonso; and Count Sforza perceiving he was not able to cope with Piccinino and the Pope in la Marca, had recourse to the Venetians and Florentines for supplies both of men and money; representing to them, that if they did not take proper measures to check the ambition of the Pope and King Alphonso, whilst he was in a capacity to assist them, it would soon behove them to look to themselves, as they would afterwards certainly join with the Duke of Milan, and divide Italy amongst them. To these sollicitations the Florentines and Venetians were for some time in doubt what answer to return, as they did not care to break with the Pope and Alphonso, and their attention was likewise at that time wholly turned upon affairs at Bologna *.

* Bologna, or Bononia, lies about 50 miles north of Florence, and 200 miles north-west of Rome, on several little rivulets, and a navigable canal, in one of the most fruitful plains of Italy, and is

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Annibal Bentivoglio had lately driven Francifco Piccinino out of that city, and to defend himfelf againft the Duke of Milan, (who fupported Francifco) demanded the aid of the Venetians and Florentines, who readily granted it: fo that whilft their forces were employed in that fervice, they were doubtful whether they fhould be able to affift Sforza. But afterwards, when Annibal had entirely got the better of his adverfary, and that affair was over, the Florentines determined to fend him relief. However, in order to fecure themfelves againft the Duke, they, in the firft place, renewed the League with him, to whch the Duke himfelf was not averfe: for though he had in fome meafure contributed to bring that war upon the Count at a time when Regnier had got footing in the Kingdom of Naples; yet, when he faw him vanquifhed and utterly driven out of it, he did not care to have the Count alfo deprived of his dominions, and therefore not only gave his confent that others fhould fend him fuccours, but wrote himfelf to defire Alphonfo would return with his forces to Naples and give the Count no further difturbance; which he feemed very unwilling to comply with: but confidering his obligations to the Duke, he at laft acquiefced, and withdrew with his troops to the other fide of the Trenta.

Whilft things were thus circumftanced in Romagna, the Florentines had fome difturbances at home. Amongft thofe that had the chief authority in the Government there, Neri the Son of Gino Capponi was one of whofe reputation Cofimo de' Medici was more jealous than of that of any other perfon; as he had not only very great credit in the City, but was ex-

Cosimo

therefore called *Bologna the Fat*. This City is about five miles in circumference, remarkable for its magnificent Churches and Monafteries, and the riches and fine paintings in them. The inhabitants are computed to amount to about 70,000. It is the See of an Archbifhop, and one of the moft confiderable Univerfities in Europe, fubject to the Pope, and governed by his Legate. There is an Academy of Literati here, who ftile themfelves *Gli Otiofi*, from their retirement and tranquillity.

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ceedingly beloved by the ſoldiery, whoſe affections he had gained by his bravery, humanity, and good conduct when he commanded the troops of the Republic, as he had done upon ſeveral occaſions. Beſides which, the remembrance of the victories that had been gained by him and his father (one of whom had taken Piſa, and the other defeated Niccolo Piccinino at the Battle of Anghiari) made him reſpected by many, and feared by others who did not deſire any more aſſociates in the Government. But of all their Generals Baldaccio de Anghiari was certainly the moſt eminent; nor was there any man in Italy at that time who ſurpaſſed him either in courage, or military ſkill, or bodily accompliſhments: and having always commanded the Infantry, they had ſuch an opinion of him, that it was generally believed he could influence them to execute any purpoſe, and that they would follow him in any undertaking whatſoever. This Baldaccio was very intimate with Neri, for whom he had the higheſt eſteem on account of his valour and other good qualities, of which he had long been a witneſs: but it was a connexion that excited infinite jealouſy amongſt the reſt of the principal Citizens, who thinking it dangerous to let him enjoy his liberty, and ſtill more ſo to impriſon him, reſolved to have him diſpatched; in which, fortune ſeemed to ſecond their deſign. Bartolomeo Orlandini was then Gonfalonier of Juſtice; who having been ſent to defend the paſs of Marradi, when Niccolo Piccinino invaded Tuſcany, had ſhamefully deſerted it, (as we have before related) and abandoned all that country to the fury of the enemy, which, from the nature of its ſituation, was of itſelf almoſt inacceſſible. So flagrant a piece of cowardice, provoked Baldaccio to ſuch a degree, that he could not help expreſſing his contempt of him, both in public converſation, and the letters which he wrote to his friends, in terms that not only excited Orlandini's reſentment, but made him thirſt for revenge, and flatter himſelf that he ſhould extinguiſh the infamy of the

the fact, by the death of his accuſer. To this reſolution * ſome other Citizens were privy, who encouraged him in it, and ſaid by ſo doing he would ſufficiently revenge the injuries which he had ſuffered himſelf, and at the ſame time deliver the government from the fear of a man whom it was dangerous to employ, and might be their ruin to diſmiſs. Orlandini therefore, being confirmed in his purpoſe to aſſaſſinate him, ſhut up ſeveral armed men in his apartment; and the next day when Baldaccio came to attend at the Palace (as he did moſt days) to confer with the Magiſtracy concerning the pay of his ſoldiers, he was ordered to wait upon the Gonfalonier immediately; which he did, without ſuſpecting any danger. As ſoon as they met and had taken a turn or two in the gallery which is before the chambers of the Signiory, they began to talk about their affairs, and at laſt coming near the door of the apartment where the armed men were concealed, the Gonfalonier gave them a ſignal: upon which, they inſtantly ruſhed out, and as Baldaccio had neither arms nor attendants, they ſoon diſpatched him, and threw him out of the Palace window that looks towards the Dogana, or Cuſtom-houſe, from whence he was carried into the Piazza, and after they had cut off his head, his body was expoſed there all that day as a ſpectacle to the People. He left only one Son, who was but a boy, and did not long ſurvive his father. His Widow Annalena, being thus deprived both of her Huſband and Child, reſolved to have no further commerce with the World, and having converted her houſe into a ſort of Convent, ſhe ſhut herſelf up in it with ſeveral other Ladies of Noble families, and there ſpent the reſt of her days, in acts of piety and devotion, immortalizing her memory by endowing and calling the Convent after her own name.

* This vague and indiſcriminate manner of ſpeaking, ſeems rather a ſtroke of partiality in the author; as it is well known, that theſe other Citizens were the Medici, on whoſe family Machiavel was dependent when he wrote this hiſtory. Compare this with what he ſays of his impartiality in the Dedication to Clement VII.

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This tragical event gave a conſiderable check to Capponi's intereſt, and diminiſhed the number of his partiſans. The governors however did not ſtop here: for as they had now been ten years in the adminiſtration, and the authority of the Balia was expired, many began both to talk and act with much greater freedom than they thought was conſiſtent with the ſecurity of the State. In order therefore to eſtabliſh themſelves in their power, they judged it neceſſary to revive that Court; by which they would have an opportunity of ſtrengthening the hands of their friends, and more effectually depreſſing their enemies. With this view, the Councils inſtituted a new Balia in the year 1444, which confirmed the preſent Magiſtrates in their reſpective departments, veſted the privilege of chuſing the Signiory in a few hands, and new-modelled the *Chancery of Reformation*, depoſing the Preſident Philip Peruzzi, and ſetting another perſon at the head of it, who they were well aſſured would conform himſelf to their inſtructions. They likewiſe prolonged the baniſhment of ſuch as they had before ſent into exile, impriſoned Giovanni the Son of Simone Veſpucci, and deprived all thoſe of their honours and employments, that adhered to their enemies; amongſt whom, were the Sons of Pietro Baroncelli, the whole family of the Seragli, Bartolomeo Fortini, Franciſco Caſtellani, and many others. By ſuch means they at the ſame time regained their former authority and reputation, and quaſhed all oppoſition: and having thus got entire poſſeſſion of the Government at home, they now began to turn themſelves with more attention to foreign affairs.

1444.

Niccolo Piccinino, as we have already ſaid, was abandoned by King Alphonſo, and Count Sforza grown ſo powerful by the aſſiſtance of the Florentines that he attacked him near Fermo, and gave him ſo total an overthrow, that he eſcaped with but very few of his men to Montecechio; where however he fortified himſelf in ſuch a manner, that being ſoon rejoined by almoſt all his forces, he was able to de-

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fend himſelf againſt the Count; eſpecially, as he was favoured by the approach of the Winter, which obliged them both to ſend their troops into quarters.

During the courſe of the Winter, Piccinino's chief care was to recruit his army, which was alſo not a little reinforced by other ſupplies from the Pope and King Alphonſo: ſo that as ſoon as the Spring came on, both Generals took the field again: but Piccinino's forces being much ſuperior, reduced the Count to ſuch extremities that he would have been utterly ruined, if the Duke of Milan had not interfered, and once more ſnatched the Victory out of his adverſary's hand, by ſending him word that he muſt inſtantly repair to his Court, for he wanted to confer perſonally with him about ſome affairs of the utmoſt importance to himſelf. Upon this, Piccinino, eager to know what thoſe affairs were, immediately poſted away to Milan, and left his Son Franciſco to command the army, relinquiſhing a certain Victory for vain and fallacious hopes. For the Count being aware of this, reſolved not to neglect ſo great an advantage, but to draw the enemy to an engagement if poſſible in the abſence of their General; in which he ſucceeded according to his wiſh, and not only routed Franciſco's forces, but took him priſoner near Monte Loro. Niccolo on the other hand, finding himſelf decoyed by the Duke, and hearing of his Son's misfortune ſoon after his arrival at Milan, was ſo affected with it, that he died of grief in the year 1445, at the age of 64, a more valiant than fortunate commander. He left two Sons, Franciſco and Giacopo, whoſe valour was by no means equal to that of their father, and their fortune ſtill more unfavourable; ſo that the glory of the Bracceſcan party was now in a manner totally eclipſed, whilſt the arms of the Sforzas, being more ſucceſsful, daily increaſed their intereſt and reputation. The Pope therefore, now Piccinino was dead and his army diſſipated, not expecting much aſſiſtance from Alphonſo, reſolved to come to an accommodation with Count Sforza, which at laſt was brought

brought about by the mediation of the Florentines; it being agreed betwixt them, that Osimo, Fabriano, and Recanati, towns in la Marca de Ancona, should be restored to his Holiness, and that the Count should remain in possession of the rest of that territory.

After this peace, all Italy would have been in tranquillity, if it had not been prevented by the disturbances that happened at Bologna. There were then two very powerful families in that City, the Canneschi and the Bentivogli: Annibal was head of the latter, Battista of the former. To create a mutual confidence betwixt these two families, and to avail themselves of each other's assistance, there had been several intermarriages betwixt them: but amongst people that aspire to the same degree of grandeur, it is much easier to contract an alliance, than a friendship. Bologna was in league with the Venetians and Florentines, a treaty having been made with them for that purpose by Annibal Bentivoglio, after the expulsion of Francisco Piccinino; but Battista Canneschi knowing how desirous the Duke of Milan was to have an interest there, had engaged in a conspiracy with that Prince, to dispatch Annibal, and deliver up the City into his hands. Accordingly, when they had concerted proper measures for the execution of their design, on the 24th of June, 1445, Battista and his accomplices fell upon Annibal, and killed him: after which, they ran about the Streets, crying out, *Long live the Duke of Milan.* The Venetian and Florentine Commissaries happening to be in the Town at that time, immediately retired to their houses upon the first rumour of the fact; but afterwards, when they saw the people run together in arms against the murderers, and bitterly lamenting the death of Annibal, they took courage, and having joined them with their domestics, attacked the Canneschi and their followers, whom they soon got the better of, killing some, and driving the rest out of the Town. Battista himself not being able to make his escape, nor his enemies to lay hold on him, hid

hid himſelf in a vault, in his own houſe, where he uſed to keep his grain: but the people, after they had ſought for him in vain all day, though they knew he had not got out of the City, at laſt came back to his houſe, and ſo terrified the ſervants with their threats, that one of them diſcovered where he had concealed himſelf; from whence they pulled him out, covered with armour as he ſtill was; and after they had put him to death, they firſt dragged his body through the ſtreets, and then burnt it to aſhes. Thus having vainly depended upon the Duke's victorious arms to ſupport him, he periſhed in the attempt, for want of proper ſuccour.

The death of Battiſta, and the expulſion of his whole family, put an end to that inſurrection indeed, but the City ſtill continued in great confuſion; for there was nobody left of the houſe of Bentivoglio that was capable of governing it, as Annibal had left but one ſon, a boy of only ſix years of age, whoſe name was John: ſo that it was apprehended ſome diviſions would ariſe amongſt the friends of the Bentivogli, which might open a door for the return of the Canneſchi, to the utter ruin, not only of their party, but of the whole City. Whilſt they were in this perplexity, Franciſco, who had formerly been Count of Poppi, happening to be then at Bologna, ſignified to the principal Citizens, "that if they had a mind to be governed by a perſon that was of Annibal's blood, he knew where to find ſuch a one: for about twenty years before, one Hercules Bentivoglio, a Couſin of Annibal, being at Poppi, had enjoyed a young woman of that place, who afterwards was brought to bed of a ſon, whoſe name was Santi; and that he had often heard him acknowledge the child as his own: which ſeemed the more probable, as there was a very ſtrong reſemblance betwixt them." This ſuggeſtion was liſtened to with much eagerneſs by the Citizens, who not only gave credit to the ſtory, but immediately ſent deputies to Florence to ſee the young man, and endeavour to prevail upon Neri Cap-

Capponi, and Cosimo de' Medici, to deliver him to them.

Agnolo da Cascese, the reputed father, was dead, and Santi himself at that time under the care of an uncle, whose name was Antonio da Cascese. This Antonio was a rich man, had no children of his own, and lived in great friendship with Neri, who being informed of these circumstances, thought it was an offer not to be despised, nor yet to be rashly accepted; and therefore determined that Santi should be introduced to Cosimo, together with the deputies that came from Bologna, where they might hear what each party had to say for themselves. This being done, the deputies not only acknowledged Santi, and treated him with the highest respect, but were almost ready to prostrate themselves before him, out of the ancient love they bore to his family and friends. Nothing, however, was concluded upon at that time: but Cosimo taking Santi aside, said to him, "Young man, there is nobody that is capable of advising you so well in such a case as yourself; and I would have you follow the dictates of your own genius: for if you are really the son of Hercules Bentivoglio, you will naturally aspire to such actions as will be worthy of your father and his family: but if you are the son of Agnolo Cascese, you will of course incline to continue in Florence, and spend the rest of your life in combing wool, or some other such vile occupation." The young man, who before seemed indifferent about the matter, or rather unwilling to accept the offer, being stung with the sarcasm, made answer, "that he would leave himself wholly to the direction of Cosimo and Neri; and as they thought proper to comply with the request of the Bolognese, he was soon provided with rich cloths, horses, and equipage, and a few days afterwards conducted, in the midst of a numerous attendance to Bologna, where he was appointed Governor, not only of Annibal Bentivoglio's children, but of the City, and behaved himself with so much prudence in those charges, that, though most

of his predeceſſors had been murdered by their enemies, he, on the contrary, lived all his days in great honour, and died a natural death.

After Niccolo Piccinino was dead, and a peace concluded in la Marca, the Duke of Milan, ſtanding in need of another General to command his forces, made ſome ſecret overtures for that purpoſe to Ciarpellone, who had returned into Count Sforza's ſervice, and was one of his moſt experienced officers; and Ciarpellone having accepted the offer, demanded leave of the Count to go to Milan, that he might take poſſeſſion of ſome Caſtles, which the Duke had given him in the late wars. But the Count ſuſpecting his deſign, cauſed him, in the firſt place, to be arreſted, and ſoon after, to be put to death, that the Duke might not avail himſelf of his ſervice, if any future difference ſhould happen betwixt them; pretending, that he had diſcovered a conſpiracy, in which he was engaged againſt him. The Duke, indeed, was thoroughly exaſperated at the diſappointment; but it was matter of joy to the Florentines and Venetians, who were always jealous of any connexion that might make the arms of the Count ſubſervient to the power and ambition of the Duke. It ſerved, however, to excite freſh troubles, and kindle new wars in la Marca.

Giſmondo Malateſta * was at that time Lord of Rimini, and as he had married the Count's daughter,

* Sigiſmund Malateſta, or Giſmondo, as Machiavel calls him, was a Philoſopher, an Hiſtorian, a great Soldier, and one of the moſt renowned Commanders of the fifteenth Century. But theſe accompliſhments were obſcured by many very bad qualities. For he was exceeding profligate and prophane, ridiculed all Religion, denied the Immortality of the Soul, and ſtuck at nothing to ſerve his private intereſt and ambition: by which behaviour he ſo offended Pius II. that he excommunicated him in the year 1462. This Commander, in conjunction with Count Sforza, routed Antonio Ordelaffi, Lord of Furli; and afterwards making war upon his other neighbours, almoſt always with good ſucceſs, the Venetians made him their General. He then paſſed into the Morea, and took Sparta, and ſeveral other places from the Turks. At his return, the Florentines and Sieneſe appointed him Commander in Chief of their forces, to make war upon Pius; but he was not ſucceſsful in that. He died

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expected to have obtained the government of Pesaro from him: but the Count, soon after he had got possession of that place, gave it to his own brother Alexander, which was highly resented by Gismondo; and what exasperated him still more, was, that Frederic di Montefeltro, his declared enemy, had taken Urbino from him, chiefly by the assistance of the Count. Upon these provocations, he went over to the Duke, and earnestly sollicited the Pope, and the King of Naples, to make war upon his father-in-law; who, in order to give Gismondo a taste of the war he seemed so fond of, resolved to be before-hand with them, and attack him in the first place. This presently filled all Romagna, and la Marca with tumult and confusion: for the Duke, the King of Naples, and the Pope, all sent powerful succours to the aid of Malatesta: and on the other hand, both the Florentines and the Venetians supplied the Count with what Money he wanted, though they did not send him any men. Nor was the Duke content with carrying his arms into Romagna, he designed likewise, if possible, to strip the Count of Pontremoli and Cremona *: but the former was defended by the Florentines, and the latter by the Venetians. From these sparks a fresh war was kindled up in Lombardy, where, after some

October 6, 1467, at the age of fifty one, leaving many children; amongst whom was Robert Malatesta, a famous warrior in his day, who was a General in the Venetian service, and afterwards commanded the army of Sixtus IV. against Alphonso, King of Naples, and the rest of his allies, whom he routed in 1482. The Pope ordered an Equestrian Statue to be erected for him in St. Peter's Church. The Malatesti were a very powerful family, and governed both Pesaro and Rimini a long time; in the latter they maintained themselves above two hundred years. Clement VII. at last took it from Pandolpho Malatesta, who died in poverty at Ferrara. Marcheselli & Sansovino Orig. di famig. Ital.

* Cremona is the capital of the Cremonese, in the Duchy of Milan, situated upon the Po, 45 miles south-east of that City. Here Prince Eugene, the Imperial General, surprized the French General Marshal Villeroy, in his bed, and carried him off in the year 1702, and would infallibly have taken the City, if the troops, appointed to support him, had not lost their way. The Prince entered the town in the night by a subterraneous passage, which had been an aqueduct, and returned the same way, with very little loss.

ſkirmiſhes in the Cremoneſe, Franciſco Piccinino, the Duke's General, was totally defeated by Micheletto Attenduli, who commanded the Venetian forces, in an engagement that happened near Caſal. This victory ſo elated the Venetians, that they began to conceive hopes of making themſelves maſters of all the Duke's dominions: for which purpoſe, they ſent a commiſſary with an army towards Cremona, who took Ghiaradadda by aſſault, reduced the whole country round about it, except Cremona itſelf, and then paſſing the Adda, made incurſions up to the very gates of Milan. In this exigency, the Duke had recourſe to King Alphonſo, for ſuccours; repreſenting to him the danger his own dominions would be in, if Lombardy ſhould fall into the hands of the Venetians: upon which conſideration, Alphonſo promiſed to ſend him the ſuccours he requeſted, though it would be a very difficult matter, he ſaid, to find any paſſage into Lombardy, if the Count ſhould endeavour to prevent it. He therefore likewiſe applied to the Count himſelf, whom he earneſtly entreated not to abandon his father-in-law, now he was weighed down with years, and had loſt his ſight. The Count, indeed, was not a little enraged at the Duke, for taking part in that war againſt him; and on the other hand, he could not help looking with ſome jealouſy on the power of the Venetians, and the deficiency of his remittances, as the league began to grow very ſparing in furniſhing him with ſupplies: for the Florentines were now freed from thoſe apprehenſions of the Duke, which had formerly made them ſo much careſs the Count; and the Venetians wiſhed to ſee him ruined, as he was the only man that could prevent them from becoming maſters of all Lombardy. Nevertheleſs, whilſt the Duke was thus endeavouring to draw him over to his intereſts, and offered him the command of all his forces, provided he would leave the Venetians, and reſtore what he poſſeſſed in la Marca to the Pope, they alſo thought proper to ſend Ambaſſadors to him, with a promiſe of Milan,

if they took it, and the command of their troops for life, upon condition that he would continue the war in la Marca, and obſtruct the paſſage of the ſuccours which Alphonſo was going to ſend into Lombardy.

The offers of the Venetians were very tempting, and the favours he had received from them conſiderable, as they had entered into the war merely to ſecure Cremona to the Count: on the contrary, the injuries the Duke had done were freſh upon his mind, and he knew his promiſes were always inſincere, and not to be depended upon. He therefore was in doubt what reſolution to take: for on one ſide he conſidered his engagements with the league, the forfeiture of his honour, the late good offices they had done him, and the promiſes of further reward: on the other, he could not help being moved by the entreaties of his father-in-law, nor to ſuſpect there was ſome latent poiſon in the magnificent promiſes that were made him by the Venetians; eſpecially as he was ſenſible, that if ever they gained their ends, he ſhould then have nothing to truſt to but their mercy and honour for the performance of them, and even for his own preſervation, and that of his dominions; a condition to which no wiſe Prince would ever ſubmit, except compelled by downright neceſſity. But the ambition of the Venetians, at laſt, put an end to the Count's ſuſpenſe; for as they had formed a deſign of ſeizing upon Cremona, by the aſſiſtance of ſome of the Citizens there, with whom they held a correſpondence, they cauſed their forces to march that way, though upon a different pretence; but their intention being diſcovered by thoſe that governed the City for the Count, they not only failed in that attempt, but entirely loſt the Count by it, who, without any further conſideration, or regard, immediately went over to the Duke.

Pope Eugenius being now dead *, was ſucceeded by Nicholas V. and the Count had already advanced

* The name of this Pontif, before his exaltation, was Gabrieli Condelmerio. He was born of a Plebeian family at Venice, and ſucceeded

with all his forces as far as Cotignola, in order to pafs into Lombardy, when he received an account of the Duke of Milan's death. This event, which happened on the laft day of Auguft, in the Year 1447, exceedingly embarraffed the Count; for in the firft place he began to be apprehenfive his men would grow mutinous for want of the arrears which were due to them: and in the next he was afraid of the Venetians, who were already armed, and he knew would refent his abandoning them and joining the late Duke. Alphonfo was his ancient enemy; and he could put no confidence either in the Pope or the

ceeded Martin V. in the year 1431. His Pontificate was an unquiet one, as he was involved in wars, and difturbed with fchifms and ecclefiaftical fedition, during the greater part of it. Being forced from Rome by the arms and intrigues of the Duke of Milan, he fled to Florence; and refufing to go to the Council which he had fummoned to meet at Bafil, he was depofed for contempt (as has been faid before, in a note, towards the latter end of the fourth Book of this Hiftory) and the Antipope, Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, or Felix V. fet up in his room. At laft, however, after ten years abfence, he returned to Rome, made a vigorous oppofition to his enemies, who were making great havock in the ecclefiaftical State; and at the fame time fent a fleet by fea, and an army by land, againft the Turk, under the command of his Legate Juliano Cefarini. He was very inconftant and defultory in his actions at the beginning of his reign, and led away by evil Counfels; but afterwards, acted with prudence and refolution. But an indifferent fcholar, though pretty well verfed in hiftory; very liberal, efpecially to men of learning, whom he favoured and preferred; a great benefactor to the Religious Orders, to fome of which he granted feveral privileges and revenues, and increafed the foundations of others. But he delighted fo much in war, that befides thofe he was embroiled in himfelf in Italy, he inftigated the Dauphin of France to march with a great body of horfe againft his enemies at Bafil: and afterwards fent Ladiflaus, King of Poland, with his Legate Cefarini, againft the Turks, of whom they cut off thirty thoufand, in a battle betwixt Adrianople and the banks of the Danube; but the King and the Legate were alfo killed at the fame time. Platina adds, that he was accounted very ftrict to his word, *except when he had made a promife which it was better to revoke than perform.* Qu. Does he mean *better* for himfelf or others? He died in the 63d year of his age, after he had reigned almoft 16 years. See Platina. Spondan. Annal.

The Reflection he made juft before he expired, is remarkable, and a proof that thofe that poffefs the higheft dignities find them to be mere vanity. When he was going to breathe his laft, he turned towards fome friers who ftood by his bed-fide, and faid with a deep figh, that it would have conduced much more to his falvation, if he had never been either Pope or Cardinal. Launoius Epift. ult. Part. i. p. 82. Edit. Cantab.

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Florentines; as he had taken many towns from the one, and the other were in league with the Venetians. He resolved however to face them all, and avail himself of such expedients as might afterwards occur; well knowing that fortune usually favours such as are bold and active, and turns her back upon those that give themselves up to indolence and despair: besides, he was not without some hopes, that the Milanese would be obliged to have recourse to him for protection against the ambition of the Venetians. Taking courage therefore, he marched into the territories of Bologna, and having passed Modena and Reggio, he encamped with his whole army upon the banks of the Lenza, from whence he sent to make an offer of his service to the Milanese. After the death of the Duke, his subjects divided into factions, one party being desirous of forming themselves into a Republic, and another of living under the government of a Prince: and of those that chose the latter, some were for having the Count, and others King Alphonso to reign over them. Those however, that resolved to live under a free government, being more united amongst themselves, at last prevailed over the other party and established a Commonwealth upon their own model: which yet many Cities in that Duchy would not submit to, in hopes they should be able to become independant as well as Milan: and even those that did not aspire to be absolutely free, refused to be governed by the Milanese. Of the latter, Lodi, and Placentia put themselves under the protection of the Venetians: but Pavia and Parma * maintained their own liberties. The Count

* The Duchy of Parma was assigned to the House of Austria, after the death of the late Duke, who had no children, by a treaty betwixt the Emperor Charles VI. and France, in the year 1736, and the House of Austria took possession of it accordingly; against which, the Pope protested, claiming it as a Fief of the Holy See. The Court of Parma in the reigns of the late Dukes of the House of Farnese, was one of the most splendid in Europe.—The late Queen dowager of Spain was a daughter of Parma, whose eldest Son Don Carlos, the present King of Spain, was to have succeeded to this Duchy, and

being informed of these divisions, removed to Cremona, where it was agreed betwixt Commissioners on his part, and others who were sent thither by the Milanese, that he should be commander in chief of their forces, upon the same terms that had been offered him by the Duke: and further, that he should have Brescia ceded to him, till he could make himself master of Verona; after which, the former should be restored to them *.

Before the death of the late Duke, Pope Nicholas † had taken pains to re-establish peace amongst all the

that of Tuscany, by virtue of a treaty betwixt most of the Powers of Europe: but the Queen of Spain and her Son were content to relinquish their interest in those Duchies, in consideration of Don Carlos's being confirmed in the Dominions of Naples and Sicily, by the House of Austria, in the year 1736. But by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, in the year 1748, the Duchies of Parma, Piacentia, and Guastalla, were ceded to Philip Duke of Parma, second Son of the Queen of Spain, and Brother to Don Carlos.

* Philip Maria Visconti leaving only a natural daughter, whom he had given in marriage to Francis Sforza, several Princes laid claim to the Duchy of Milan. The Emperor Frederic III. pretended it was escheated to the Empire, as the last Duke left no legitimate children. Alphonso, King of Naples, founded his claim upon that Duke's will, in which he had appointed him his heir. The Duke of Orleans alledged the right of consanguinity; he being the son of Valentina, the Duke's sister. Sforza urged, that the same Duke had adopted him, and added to this, his wife's right. Spondan. Annal. ad ann. 1447. No. vii. From these opposite pretensions, therefore, the Citizens of Milan thought they had a fair opportunity of turning their State into a Republic: for which purpose, having elected twelve Magistrates, whom they stiled "Conservators of the Peace," they tore the late Duke's will to pieces, and appointed Sforza General of their army. The last part of their conduct was very imprudent, and ill suited to the design they had of establishing a republican government in their city. They did not consider, that no circumstance can be more favourable to a man, who wants to get possession of a sceptre, than the putting a sword into his hand; "*ben convenendosi la spada a quella mano che vuole scettro*" Vianoli. Hist. Venet. tom. i. p. 604. Spondanus observes very justly, that several cities fell into slavery at that time, through an excess of eagerness to avoid it. Factions arose within those cities: sometimes they would have one form of government, and sometimes another; and when one of these factions got the upperhand, it shewed no mercy to the other. Was not this paving the way for slavery? *Mediolanenses servandæ per se libertatis impotentes erant; &, ut in his fieri mos erat civitatum Italicarum, illam fueri quærentes, mutuis dissensionibus crudelitatibusque faciliorem servituti viam sternebant.* Spondan. Annal. ad ann. 1449. No. 7.

† This Pontif obliged the Antipope Felix V. to renounce all his pretensions to the Papacy, celebrated a Jubilee in the year 1450, and

Princes

Princes of Italy. For which purpoſe, he uſed his endeavours with the Ambaſſadors whom the Florentines had ſent to congratulate him upon his exaltation to the Pontificate, that a conference might be held at Ferrara, in order to treat of a laſting peace, or at leaſt a long ceſſation of arms. Accordingly a Legate was diſpatched by his Holineſs, to meet the Plenipotentiaries appointed to aſſemble at that City by the Venetians, the Duke of Milan, and the Florentines: but King Alphonſo did not ſend any thither. He then lay at Tivoli * with a great body both of horſe and foot, ready to ſupport the Duke in any undertaking; and it was generally thought that as ſoon as they could draw the Count over to their intereſts, they would openly attack the Venetians and Florentines: and that they were only amuſing them in the mean while with talking of a peace at Ferrara, to give the Count time to get with his forces into Lombardy. For though Alphonſo did not ſend any Ambaſſador to the conference there, he gave them to underſtand he would ratify whatever the Duke ſhould think proper to agree to. It continued many days, and there were warm debates whether a truce for five years, or an abſolute peace ſhould be concluded: at laſt, all parties conſented that it ſhould be left to the Duke of Milan's option to determine upon either one or the other, as he liked beſt: but

crowned the Emperor Frederick III. but being terrified with a conſpiracy formed againſt him and the Cardinals, by Stephen Porcari (an account of which the reader will meet with towards the end of this book) and the taking of Conſtantinople by the Turks, he fell ſick and died, in 1455. He was a great reſtorer and favourer of learning. He gave many thouſand books to the Vatican Library, of which, ſome ſay, he was the Founder; and collected a vaſt number of Greek and Latin Manuſcripts, at an incredible expence. Platina.

* The ancient Tibur of the Romans. It is in the Campagna di Roma, ſituated upon the River Teverone, about 18 miles to the Eaſt of Rome. The Palace of the family of Eſte, Dukes of Modena, which was built here by Cardinal Hippolyto d'Eſte, is much admired for its Architecture, Sculpture, Paintings, noble Gardens and Waterworks. Tivoli is now a little town, but the See of a Biſhop, and ſubject to the Duke of Modena, proprietor of the magnificent palace above-mentioned.

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his Plenipotentiaries, who returned to Milan to know his pleasure in that respect, did not arrive there till after he was dead. Upon which event, the Milanese were desirous to have a Peace: but the Venetians now refused to stand to their agreement, as they began to entertain still greater hopes of making themselves masters of all their territories; and seeing that Lodi and Placentia had immediately submitted to them upon the death of the Duke, they made no doubt of reducing all the rest of his dominions, either by treaty or dint of arms, before any body could come to their succour; especially as the Florentines were at that juncture upon the point of being embroiled in a war with King Alphonso.

That Prince was then at Tivoli (as we have just now said) and being determined to prosecute his designs upon Tuscany, according to the plan that had been concerted betwixt him and the late Duke, thought the war, which was now begun in Lombardy, would give him a fair opportunity of so doing, and of getting some footing in the Florentine dominions, before he proceeded to an open rupture with them: for which purpose, having entered into a correspondence with some persons in Cennina, a fortress that lies in the upper part of the Vale of Arno, he soon after made himself master of it. The Florentines were not a little alarmed at this unexpected stroke; and seeing the King had now commenced hostilities, they immediately augmented their forces, created *a Council of Ten*, and made all other necessary preparations for war, with the utmost diligence and expedition. On the other hand, King Alphonso had already advanced with his whole army into the territories of Siena, and tried all the means he could think of to get possession of that City *: but the Sienese continued so firm

* Siena is the capital of the Sienese, in the Duchy of Tuscany, situated on an eminence, in a very fruitful and pleasant Country. It is about four miles in circumference, encompassed with a ruinous old wall, and defended by a citadel. The town is thinly inhabited, but elegantly built, and the Cathedral esteemed one of the finest

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to their alliance with the Florentines, that they would neither open their own gates to him, nor admit him into any other place under their jurisdiction. They condescended so far however, as to furnish him plentifully with provisions: for which, they thought, their own weakness and the strength of the enemy would be a sufficient excuse.

The King therefore gave up his design of invading Tuscany by the way of the Vale of Arno, as he had at first intended; for the Florentines had not only retaken Cennina, but were pretty well provided with forces to oppose him in that part of the Country: upon which account, he suddenly turned off towards Volterra, and surprized many fortresses in that neighbourhood. From thence he advanced into the territories of Pisa, where by the assistance of Henrico and Fazio de' Conti, heads of the Gherardeschi family, he took several Castles; which gave him an opportunity of making an assault upon Campiglia, though he did not succeed in it; as it was resolutely maintained by the Florentines, and they were favoured in their defence by the winter season. The King therefore having left sufficient garrisons in the places which he had taken, not only to maintain them, but to make excursions into the neighbouring Countries, retired into quarters with the rest of his army in the territories of Siena. And the Florentines being now secured from all further danger by the season of the year, began to raise more forces with all possible diligence, and appointed Frederic Lord of Urbino, and Gismondo Malatesta Governor of Rimini, their Generals. For though there had been an inveterate enmity betwixt those two Commanders, yet their dif-

pieces of Gothic Architecture in Italy. It is the See of an Archbishop, and an University; and here is an Academy likewise of Literati. The Sienese are said to speak the Italian language with greater purity than any other people. The City is at present subject to the great Duke of Tuscany, who has been sovereign of it ever since the year 1555; till which time it was a powerful Republic, and often contended with the Florentines for empire. The Emperor of Germany is now possessed of it as grand Duke of Tuscany.

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ferences were at laſt ſo happily compoſed by the prudence of Neri Capponi, and Bernardetto de' Medici, the Florentine Commiſſaries, that they took the field even in the depth of winter, and having recovered thoſe places that had been taken from them in the territories of Piſa, and Volterra, they ſo bridled the excurſions of Alphonſo's garriſons, which before uſed to ſcour all the coaſts that lay upon the Sea, that they were hardly able to ſupport themſelves in the towns they were left to defend.

At the return of the Spring the Commiſſaries aſſembled their whole army at Spedeletto, which conſiſted of five thouſand horſe, and two thouſand foot; and King Alphonſo advanced with all his forces likewiſe, amounting to fifteen thouſand, within a league of Campiglia. But when every body expected he would have ſat down again before that place, he ſuddenly turned aſide to Piombino, imagining he could eaſily make himſelf maſter of it, as it was but indifferently provided for a ſiege: and he knew if he ſhould ſucceed in the attempt, it would be very advantageous to himſelf, and of the utmoſt prejudice to the Florentines: for being in poſſeſſion of that town, he ſhould be plentifully furniſhed with all manner of proviſions by Sea, and have it in his power to diſtreſs the Florentines to the laſt degree, by laying the whole Country round Piſa under contribution, and ſpinning out the war as long as he pleaſed. The Florentines were not a little alarmed at this ſtep; but having conſidered what was beſt to be done in their circumſtances, they thought if their forces could gain the thickets and woody defiles of Campiglia, they might oblige the King either to make a ſhameful retreat, or fight them at a manifeſt diſadvantage. For this purpoſe, they armed four Galeaſſes * at Leghorn, and having embarked three

* Galeaſſes, or double Gallies, are large, low built, heavy veſſels, which uſe both ſails and oars, and are the biggeſt of all the veſſels that go with the latter. They carry generally about twenty guns, and a great number of ſmall arms, the latter chiefly in the ſtern or

hun-

hundred Soldiers on board of them, they found meant to throw them into Piombino: after which, their army posted itself at Caldane, where it could not be attacked without much difficulty, judging that safer upon second thoughts, than to lie amongst woods and thickets, or upon an open plain, where they must of course be exposed to great danger. Their supplies of provisions they drew from the neighbouring towns, which being few in number, and thinly inhabited, were not able to furnish them with a sufficient quantity: so that they were in great want, especially of wine: for as there was none produced in those parts, and they could not then get much from other places, it was not possible there should be enough for every one. But the King's army, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the Florentines to cut off its communication with the Country, having the Sea still open, was plentifully supplied with all manner of necessaries, except forage. Of which the Florentines being aware, resolved to try if they could not likewise furnish their troops with provisions in the same manner: but having loaded their four Galeasses with provisions, and sent them to Sea for that purpose, they were met by seven of the King's Vessels which took two of them, and obliged the others to return into port. This disaster having utterly extinguished the hopes which their forces had conceived of being supplied with provisions by Sea, one of their foraging parties which consisted of above two hundred, deserted, and went over to the King, chiefly for want of wine; and many others began to murmur. and said they would stay no longer in that hot Coun-

poop, with three masts, and a bowsprit, which are never to be taken down or lowered, as they may be in Gallies. They have thirty two benches of rowers, and five or six men to each bench, with three tires of guns in the head, one over the other, of two guns each, which carry thirty-six, twenty-four, and ten pounders. The Venetians are now the only people that use Galeasses: The French made use of them formerly. Scaliger is of opinion, that what Pliny calls Long Ships, were what we call Galeasses, the first whereof was that of the Argonauts.

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try, where there was no wine to be had, and the water was ſo bad they could hardly drink it.

The Commiſſaries therefore, at laſt determined to quit that ſtation, and endeavour to retake ſome other Caſtles, which ſtill remained in the hands of the King; who perceiving that his army (though it did not want any ſort of proviſion, and was much ſuperior to that of the enemy) was likewiſe diminiſhed every day by the diſtempers which are incident to thoſe ſwampy parts that lie near the Sea (eſpecially in the heat of Summer) and which raged at that time with ſuch fury, that numbers fell ſick, and many died. Each ſide being thus diſtreſſed, ſome overtures of peace were made, in which the King demanded fifty thouſand Florins by way of indemnification for the expence he had been at, and that Piombino ſhould be left to his mercy; which terms after they had been canvaſſed at Florence, many who were deſirous of a peace ſeemed inclinable to accept; alledging that they could not ſee any probability of coming off with advantage in a war that muſt be ſupported at ſo vaſt an expence. But Neri Capponi going himſelf to Florence, uſed ſuch arguments to diſſuade them from it, that the Citizens at laſt unanimouſly agreed not to make thoſe conceſſions; and not only took the Lord of Piombino under their protection, but promiſed to ſupport him effectually both in peace and war, provided he would be faithful to them, and defend the town for the future in the manner he had already done. Of which reſolution, King Alphonſo was ſoon informed, and ſeeing his army ſo diminiſhed by ſickneſs, that he had no hopes of reducing that town, he immediately raiſed his Camp in as much confuſion and diſorder as if he had been routed: and having loſt above two thouſand of his men, he retreated with the reſt of his army in a feeble and languiſhing condition into the territories of Siena: from whence he returned after ſome time into his own kingdom, highly enraged at the Florentines, whom he threatened with a freſh invaſion at the return of the ſpring.

Whilſt

Whilſt things were upon this footing in Tuſcany, Count Sforza being in Lombardy and now appointed Commander in chief of the Milaneſe forces, endeavoured in the firſt place, to make Franciſco Piccinino his friend, who was likewiſe in their ſervice; that ſo he might be induced to favour him in his future undertakings, or at leaſt not to oppoſe him with much vigour: after which, he took the field with his whole army. The inhabitants of Pavia therefore, being apprehenſive they ſhould not be able to defend themſelves againſt ſo great a force, and at the ſame time very loath to be governed by the Milaneſe, made the Count an offer of their City; provided he would not ſuffer them to fall under the domination of that State. The Count was very deſirous of getting poſſeſſion of Pavia, as he thought that would be an auſpicious beginning, and furniſh him with a colourable pretence to proſecute his other deſigns: nor was he at all reſtrained either by ſhame, or the fear of being reproached with breaking his word; for great men commonly think it a diſhonour to loſe, but an honour to gain any thing, even by fraudulent and perfidious means. But he was afraid if he accepted the offer, he ſhould exaſperate the Milaneſe to ſuch a degree, that they would throw themſelves into the arms of the Venetians; and if he did not, he thought the Pavians would put themſelves under the protection of the Duke of Savoy, to which, many of them ſeemed very much inclined: and in either of thoſe caſes, he plainly ſaw he ſhould have no further chance of making himſelf maſter of Lombardy. However, as there ſeemed to be leſs danger in taking that City himſelf, than in letting it fall into the hands of another, he determined to accept of it; perſuading himſelf, that he ſhould be able to find ſome way or other, of pacifying the Milaneſe. For which purpoſe, he repreſented to them the extremities they muſt have been reduced to if he had not acted in that manner; ſince otherwiſe, the Pavians would certainly have given up their City either to the Venetians or the Duke of Savoy;

and

and then the State of Milan would have been utterly ruined: that it muſt therefore be much better for them, to have him for their neighbour, who was their friend and ally, than an enemy, and a very powerful one too, as either of the others would be. But the Milaneſe having now diſcovered the Count's ambitious deſigns, and the object he had principally in view, were not a little alarmed: they thought proper, however, to diſſemble for a time, becauſe if they broke with the Count, they did not know whom elſe to have recourſe to, except the Venetians, whoſe intolerable arrogance, and tyrannical manner of governing, they could not think of without dread and abhorrence. They reſolved therefore not to detach themſelves from the Count at that time, but to avail themſelves of his aſſiſtance for a while, to guard them againſt the dangers with which they were then threatened, hoping that when they were extricated from thoſe difficulties, they ſhould find ſome means to get rid of him. For they expected to be attacked not only by the Venetians, but by the Genoeſe, and alſo by the Duke of Savoy, in behalf of Charles of Orleans, who was Son to a Siſter of Philip the late Duke of Milan. But the Count having ſoon quieted the two laſt, had no other enemy left to deal with but the Venetians, who were determined to invade the Milaneſe with a powerful army, and had already got poſſeſſion of Lodi and Placentia; the latter of which however, was now inveſted by the Count, and, after a long ſiege, retaken and plundered by his ſoldiers, whom he then ſent into quarters (as the winter was coming on) and retired himſelf to Cremona, where he ſpent the reſt of that ſeaſon in repoſe with his family.

Early in the Spring, both the Milaneſe and the Venetian armies appeared in the field; the former being very deſirous to recover Lodi alſo, and afterwards, if poſſible, to come to ſome accommodation with the Venetians; for as they found the expences of the war were likely to be very heavy, and grew

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more and more ſuſpicious of their General, they ardently longed for a peace; that ſo they might guard againſt the deſigns of the Count, and afterwards enjoy themſelves in quiet and tranquillity after their troubles. They reſolved, therefore, that their forces ſhould lay ſiege to Caravaggo, imagining, that if they could make themſelves maſters of that fortreſs, Lodi would ſoon be forced to ſurrender. The Count obeyed their orders, though it was his own deſire to have paſſed the Adda, and fallen into the territories of Breſcia: and having ſet down before Caravaggio, he fortified his Camp in ſuch a manner with ditches and ramparts, that the Venetians could not attack him but at a very great diſadvantage. They advanced, however, under the command of their General Micheletto Attenduli, within two bow ſhots of him, where they continued ſeveral days, and had frequent ſkirmiſhes with his forces. But he ſtill carried on the ſiege, and reduced the caſtle to ſuch extremities, that it could not hold out much longer: at which, the Venetians were exceedingly mortified, as they apprehended the loſs of that fortreſs would totally defeat all their other deſigns in that expedition. After many diſputes amongſt the Commanders concerning the means of relieving it, there ſeemed no way left but to attack the Count in his trenches, which yet could not be done without extreme hazard: but they had ſet their hearts ſo much upon the preſervation of Caravaggio, that the Venetian Senate, though naturally timorous and averſe to any doubtful undertaking, choſe rather to run the riſque of a defeat, than loſe the Caſtle, and with it, all further hopes of ſucceſs in their grand enterprize. With a reſolution, therefore, to attack him at all events, they got under arms very early next morning, and falling upon that part of his Camp which was the weakeſt, they at firſt threw his whole army into ſome diſorder, as it generally happens in ſuch ſudden and unexpected aſſaults. But the Count ſoon rallied his men in ſuch a manner, that the enemy,

after many attempts to force his trenches, were not only repulſed, but ſo totally routed and diſperſed, that out of twelve thouſand horſe, of which their army conſiſted, not quite one thouſand eſcaped; and as all their baggage and carriages alſo fell into the hands of the Count's ſoldiers, it was the greateſt defeat, and the heavieſt loſs, the Venetians had ever ſuſtained before that time.

Amongſt the reſt of the priſoners that were taken, there happened to be one of the Venetian proveditores, who, during the whole courſe of the war, and particularly a little before the battle, had ſpoken in very contemptuous terms of the Count, calling him *a Baſtard and a Coward*; but when he found himſelf at his mercy, and recollected what he had done, making no doubt but he ſhould be puniſhed as he really deſerved, he threw himſelf, trembling and weeping, at the Count's knees, and (as it is the nature of baſe ſpirits, to be inſolent in proſperity, and abject in adverſity) humbly beſought him to pardon his offence. Upon which, the Count lifting him up from the ground, bid him take courage, and fear no harm: but ſaid, "he could not help wondering that a perſon of prudence and gravity, as he affected to be thought, ſhould be guilty of ſuch ill manners as he had been, in ſpeaking ſo injuriouſly of a perſon who had done nothing to deſerve it from him: that, as to the things which he had reproached him with, he neither could poſſibly know, nor prevent what had paſſed betwixt his father and mother before he was born, and therefore ought neither to be applauded nor upbraided for their actions: but that he would venture to affirm one thing however, which was, that ſince he was capable of acting for himſelf, he had behaved in ſuch a manner, as not to merit reprehenſion from any one: of which, both he, and his Senate had many and recent proofs." And having adviſed him to be more modeſt for the future, in ſpeaking of others, and to proceed with greater caution and

and deliberation in the execution of military undertakings, he dismissed him.

After this advantage, the Count marched with his victorious army into the territories of Brescia, and having presently over-run all the adjacent Country, encamped within two miles of the City. The Venetians, on the other hand, after their late defeat, having reason to apprehend that it would not be long (as indeed it happened) before he made an attempt upon Brescia, had fortified it as well, and with as much expedition, as their circumstances would admit: after which, they began to raise fresh forces with great diligence, and having collected some scattered remains of their late army, applied to the Florentines for the succours they were obliged by treaty to furnish them with, in case of necessity. And the Florentines, being now no longer embroiled in the war with King Alphonso, accordingly sent two thousand horse, and one thousand foot to their assistance: all which reinforcements put them in a condition to treat of peace.

It had almost always been the good fortune of the Venetian Republic to recover twice as much by treaty, as they had lost in an unsuccessful war; and they now knew that the Milanese were exceedingly suspicious of the Count's designs; that the Count was not content with being merely the Commander of their forces, but secretly aspired to be absolute Sovereign of Milan: and that it was in their own option to conclude an alliance with either of them; as one side would naturally be prompted to join them by ambition, and the other by fear. But having maturely considered the matter, they determined to come to an accommodation with the Count, and to offer him their assistance for the reduction of Milan, imagining, that when the Milanese saw they were betrayed by the Count, it would provoke them to such a degree, that they would throw themselves into any other hands, rather than submit to him; and that when they were reduced to such circumstances, that they

could neither defend themſelves, nor put any further confidence in the Count, (having no other refuge) they muſt of courſe fly to them for protection. Having come to this reſolution, they began to tamper with the Count, whom they found very well diſpoſed to a peace, eſpecially when he perceived that he himſelf ſhould thereby reap the fruits of the late victory at Caravaggio, which would otherwiſe redound to the honour and emolument of the Milaneſe alone. A treaty, therefore, was ſoon concluded betwixt them, by which the Venetians obliged themſelves to pay the Count thirteen thouſand Florins a month, till he had conquered Milan; and to furniſh him with four thouſand horſe, and two thouſand foot, as long as the war laſted; and the Count, on the other hand, engaged to reſtore to the Venetians, all the towns and priſoners, and whatever elſe he had taken from them, during the courſe of the war: and to reſt content with ſuch places only, as were in the poſſeſſion of Duke Philip, at the time of his death.

When the news of this treaty arrived at Milan, the inhabitants of that City were much more dejected at it, than they had been elated with their victory at Caravaggio; the Governors complained, the common people were outrageous, the women and children wept bitterly, all of them exclaiming againſt the Count, as *a traitor and perfidious wretch*; and though they had not any great hopes left of being able to prevail upon him, either by entreaties, petitions, or promiſes, to change the reſolution he had taken; yet they ſent ambaſſadors to him, to ſee what he could ſay for himſelf, and what face he put upon ſo ungrateful and wicked a manner of proceeding. When they were introduced into his preſence, one of them thus addreſſed himſelf to him:

"Thoſe that ſeek to obtain any end, commonly make uſe either of ſupplications, gratuities, or menaces, to thoſe whom they have to deal with, in hopes that being either moved by compaſſion, biaſſed by ſelf-intereſt, or terrified with threats, they may at laſt be

be induced to comply with their requeſts: but as none of theſe three different methods of application make any impreſſion upon hard-hearted and rapacious men, and ſuch as are buoyed up with an opinion of their own great power and ſignificance, thoſe that endeavour either to ſoften them by entreaties, gain them by preſents, or frighten them with menaces, will ſoon have the mortification to find they are labouring to no purpoſe. As we have, therefore, at laſt, though too late, diſcovered the cruelty, the ambition, and the pride of your heart; we are now come, not to aſk any favour, nor with the leaſt expectation of obtaining it, if we ſhould aſk; but to remind you of the kindneſſes you have received from the people of Milan, and to upbraid you with the ungrateful manner in which you have requited them: that ſo amongſt the numberleſs miſeries and calamities which you have brought upon us, we may at leaſt enjoy the pleaſure of reproaching you with them. Recollect the circumſtances you were in after the death of Duke Philip. You were at enmity with the Pope, and the King of Naples. The Florentines and Venetians, whom you had ſo baſely deſerted, could not help reſenting the affront, though they had no further occaſion for your ſervice, and looked upon you as an enemy. You were debilitated and exhauſted by the war in which you had been engaged againſt the Church; you were left in a manner without men, without money, without friends, or any hopes of being able to preſerve your own dominions, and former reputation, which muſt have been inevitably loſt, if we had not been ſimple enough to take you into our boſom, out of the reverence we bore to the memory of our late Duke, with whom you had entered into ſuch treaties, and contracted ſo near an alliance, that we had reaſon to expect the affection you profeſſed for him, would have deſcended to his ſubjects; and that when you conſidered how many favours we had added to thoſe you received from the Duke, the union betwixt us would have continued firm and indiſſoluble: upon

which account, we not only punctually fulfilled all his former engagements with you, but gave you the actual possession of Brescia too, till you could make yourself master of Verona. What could we either give, or promise you more? What greater favours could you have received, or even hoped for at that time, we do not say from us, but from any other State?—For these unexpected kindnesses, you have recompenced us in a manner, which, we must own, was likewise altogether unexpected and undeserved by us. Nor was this the first instance of your perfidy: for no sooner were you invested with the command of our forces, but you took possession of Pavia for yourself, contrary to all the laws of justice and equity: from which first sample of your friendship, we might well have learned, what we had to expect from you for the future. This injury, however, we bore with patience, in hopes that so great an acquisition would have satiated your ambition: but alas! we find to our sorrow, that such as grasp at the whole, will never be content with a part.—You promised, that we should enjoy all the conquests you afterwards made, well knowing, that what you gave us at several times, you could take from us all at once; as it has happened in fact since the victory of Caravaggio, which being purchased at the expence of our blood and treasure, has been unhappily perverted to our ruin. Wretched are the States that are obliged to be continually in arms, to defend their liberties against the attempts of ambitious invaders; but much more so are those that are forced to employ mercenary and perfidious soldiers, like you, for that purpose. May our fate, however, be a warning to posterity, though we ourselves were so infatuated, as not to remember how the Thebans were treated in the like circumstances by Philip of Macedon; who, after he had been their General, and conquered their enemies, in the first place turned their enemy himself, and then usurped the sovereignty over them. We, for our parts, cannot with justice be accused of any other fault,

fault, but of having put too much confidence in a perſon whom we ought not to have truſted at all; eſpecially if we had called to mind his former behaviour, and been upon our guard, as we ought to have been, againſt his reſtleſs and unbounded ambition, which was never ſatisfied in any ſtate or condition: a perſon who had betrayed the Lord of Lucca, extorted ſuch vaſt ſums from the Florentines and Venetians, treated our late Prince with contempt, inſulted a King, and (which was ſtill more heinous) had rebelled againſt God, and perſecuted his Church in ſo atrocious a manner. We ought not, indeed, to have flattered ourſelves, that ſuch a man would treat the Milaneſe with more reſpect than he had done thoſe great and powerful States; nor to have expected, that one who had ſo often violated his engagements with others, would ever be faithful to us. The imprudence, however, for which others may condemn us, can be no excuſe for your treachery, nor ſkreen you from the infamy with which you will be branded, when it is known to the world how much reaſon we have to make theſe complaints. Does not your own conſcience reproach you? Do you feel no remorſe when you reflect, that you have turned thoſe arms upon ourſelves, which we had taken up to defend our laws and liberties againſt the invaſions of others? We appeal to your own breaſt. Do you not look upon *yourſelf* as a Parricide? Can you deny that you deſerve the ſevereſt and moſt exemplary of all puniſhments? But if you are ſo blinded by ambition, that you are not capable of judging yourſelf, the whole world has been witneſs of your iniquities, and will riſe up in evidence againſt you: God himſelf will open your eyes, and make you ſenſible of your miſdeeds, if the moſt flagrant perfidy, if perjury and treaſon are crimes in his ſight: though, indeed, his Divine Providence ſometimes permits the wicked to eſcape with impunity for a while (as the caſe may be at preſent) to be the inſtruments of his vengeance, and to bring about ſome great and good

purpoſe that is indiſcernible to our eyes. Flatter not yourſelf, therefore, with the hopes of certain victory. You have little reaſon to expect the favour of Heaven; and we, for our parts, are determined to defend our liberties like men, and in caſe we cannot preſerve them, to ſubmit to any other Prince, rather than wear your yoke. But if, as a chaſtiſement for our ſins, and in ſpite of our utmoſt endeavours to the contrary, we ſhould have the misfortune after all, to become ſubject to you, depend upon it, that a dominion uſurped by fraud, and founded in violence, will end with ignominy, and utter deſtruction to yourſelf or your children."

The Count, though inwardly ſtung with theſe reproaches, did not ſhew any extraordinary emotion, either in his countenance or geſtures, but calmly replied, "that as they ſeemed blinded with paſſion, he ſhould in ſome meaſure overlook their indiſcretion and ill language, and the high provocation they had given him in ſo injurious a charge; to every particular of which, he would, however, have returned an anſwer, if there had been any body preſent that was capable of judging betwixt them: as he could make it plainly appear, that he had never yet injured the Milaneſe in the leaſt degree; and that all his paſt endeavours had been only to prevent them from injuring him. That they could not help remembering in what manner they had behaved to him, after the battle of Caravaggio; when, inſtead of rewarding him for his ſervices with the free gift of either Breſcia or Verona, as they had promiſed, they were ſecretly negotiating a peace with the Venetians; that ſo the odium of the quarrel might be thrown upon him alone, whilſt they ran away with the fruits of the victory, the merit of concluding a peace, and all the other advantages he had gained them in the courſe of that war. They had no reaſon to complain, therefore, he ſaid, that he had made his peace with the Venetians, ſince they had endeavoured to do ſo themſelves: and that if he had deferred it a little

longer,

longer, it muſt have fallen to *his* lot to reproach *them* with that ingratitude of which they now accuſed *him*; but with what truth, the ſame God, whom they had ſo ſolemnly called upon to avenge the injuries they pretended to have received, would not fail to ſhew, at the end of the war; when it would be ſeen, he made no doubt, which of them had juſtice on their ſide, and was moſt favoured by Heaven."

After the Count had thus diſmiſſed the Ambaſſadors, he began to make preparations for invading the Milaneſe; and they being determined to defend themſelves, took Franciſco and Giacopo Piccinino into their pay (who out of the ancient jealouſy that ſubſiſted betwixt the Bracceſcan and Sforzeſcan parties, had always faithfully adhered to the Milaneſe) in hopes of being able by their aſſiſtance to preſerve their liberties; eſpecially if they could find ſome means to detach the Venetians from the Count, who they thought would not very long continue ſo ſtrictly united. The Count was of the ſame opinion, and therefore judged it the beſt way to ſtrengthen the confederacy betwixt them, by motives of ſelf-intereſt, ſince other obligations and engagements did not appear to him ſufficient. For this purpoſe, in concerting their plan of operations for the proſecution of the war, he propoſed that they ſhould lay ſiege to Crema *, whilſt he with the reſt of their forces over-run the other parts of that State. The Venetians ſwallowed the bait, and continued firm to the Count till he had made himſelf maſter of all the territories depending upon Milan, and reduced the City itſelf to ſuch extremities by cutting off all communication with the Country, and preventing any proviſions from being brought into it, that the Citizens deſpairing of relief from any other quarter, ſent Ambaſſadors to beſeech the Vene-

* Crema is the capital of a little Country, called Cremaſco, upon the river Serio, which joins the Adda upon the borders of the Milaneſe. There is a fine Palace and a Caſtle, with other fortifications, which now make it ſomething conſiderable; though it was formerly but an ordinary town. It is the See of a Biſhop, and at preſent ſubject to the Venetians.

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tians to commiſerate their condition, and aſſiſt them in defending their liberties, as all good Republicans ought to do, rather than ſupport a Tyrant in his ambitious deſigns, whoſe career they would not afterwards be able to check at their pleaſure, if he ſhould ever get poſſeſſion of Milan: inſinuating at the ſame time, that they muſt not expect he would be content with that part of the Duchy which was to fall to his ſhare by the treaty he had ſo lately entered into with them; ſince it was well known he aſpired to the whole.

But the Venetians were not yet maſters of Crema, and being loth to change ſides till they were in poſſeſſion of it, they anſwered the Ambaſſadors in public, "that as they were in alliance with the Count, they could not ſend the Milaneſe any ſuccour:" but in private they ſpoke in different terms, and deſired them to tell their maſters, that they might depend upon their aſſiſtance.

The Count had now drawn his forces ſo near Milan, that he made an aſſault upon the ſuburbs: and the Venetians having at laſt taken Crema, thought it high time to relieve the Milaneſe; for which purpoſe they entered into a treaty with them, and engaged themſelves by the firſt article of it to maintain them in the full enjoyment of their liberties. Accordingly, as ſoon as the treaty was ſigned, they ſent orders to ſuch of their forces as were with the Count to leave his camp, and join the reſt of their own army: acquainting the Count likewiſe at the ſame time with what they had done, and allowing him twenty days to accede to the treaty himſelf if he pleaſed. The Count was not at all ſurprized at this event, as he had long foreſeen it, and daily expected it would happen: nevertheleſs, when it did come to paſs, he was no leſs chagrined at it than the Milaneſe had been when he deſerted them. He therefore deſired the Ambaſſadors who had been ſent from the Senate of Venice to notify the treaty to him, that they would give him two days to conſider of it, and then, he ſaid, he would

would return them an anſwer: during which time he reſolved with himſelf to amuſe the Venetians, and not to give up his preſent undertaking. With this deſign, he publicly gave out that he would accede to the Peace, and ſent Ambaſſadors to Venice, with full power to ratify it; giving them private inſtructions, however, not to do it upon any account whatſoever, but to protract the matter as long as poſſible with all the cavils and artifices they could invent. And to make the Venetians believe that he was really in earneſt, he not only made a truce with the Milaneſe for a month, but drew off his forces from their walls, and ſent them to quarter in the neighbouring towns which he had taken from them. To this feint was owing all his future ſucceſs, and the ruin of the Milaneſe: for the Venetians depending upon a peace, were more remiſs in making preparations for war; and the Milaneſe ſeeing a truce concluded, the enemy drawn off, and the Venetians their friends, were firmly perſuaded the Count had given up all further deſign of moleſting them. A deluſion that was doubly prejudicial to them: for in the firſt place, it lulled them into ſecurity, and made them neglect to take proper meaſures for their defence; and in the next, as the coaſt was now clear of the enemy and it happened to be ſeed-time, they ſowed vaſt quantities of their grain, which put it in the Count's power to diſtreſs them ſo much the ſooner. But he on the other hand, well knowing how to make an advantage of their overſights, took the opportunity of this interval to refreſh himſelf and his men, and to look out for other allies.

During this war in Lombardy, the Florentines had not taken any ſide, nor ſhewn the leaſt favour to the Count, either when he took part with the Milaneſe, or afterwards when he invaded them; for as he had no great occaſion for their aſſiſtance, he did not aſk it with much importunity: they had indeed ſent ſome ſuccours to the Venetians after the battle of Caravaggio, in conſequence of the alliance which then ſub-

ſubſiſted betwixt them. But Count Sforza being now deſerted by the Venetians, and not knowing to whom elſe he could have recourſe, earneſtly ſollicited the aid of the Florentines; for which, he applied both publicly to the government of Florence, and privately to his friends in that City; particularly to Cosimo Coſimo de' Medici, with whom he had always lived in great intimacy, and who had conſtantly not only aſſiſted him with his advice, but furniſhed him with liberal ſupplies of money in all his undertakings. Nor did he fail him in this exigency; for he both gave him large ſums out of his own private purſe, and encouraged him to purſue his preſent enterprize: uſing all his endeavours at the ſame time that ſuccours might be ſent him by the public; but in this he met with ſome oppoſition. For Neri Capponi, who had then a very great intereſt in Florence, thought it would not be conſiſtent with the ſafety of the Republic to let the Count become maſter of Milan; and that it would conduce more to the tranquillity of Italy in general, if he acceded to the treaty of peace, inſtead of continuing the war. He was apprehenſive in the firſt place, that the Milaneſe, in the height of the reſentment they had conceived againſt the Count, might throw themſelves entirely into the arms of the Venetians, which muſt be attended with the ruin of all the other Princes in Italy: and in the next, he thought if the Count ſhould get poſſeſſion of Milan, his arms, when ſupported by ſo powerful a ſtate, would grow too formidable; and that if he, who was ſo troubleſome whilſt he was only a Count, ſhould ever come to be a Duke, he would then be inſupportable. For theſe reaſons, he ſaid, it would be much better for the Republic of Florence and all Italy, that the Count ſhould be left to live upon the reputation of his arms, as he had done before, and that Lombardy ſhould be divided into two Commonwealths, which, it could hardly be ſuppoſed, would agree ſo well together as to unite for the ruin of any other State, and ſingly, they could hurt nobody. To

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effect which, he knew no better expedient, than to give a deaf ear to the Count's ſollicitations, and continue in leage with their old allies the Venetians.

Theſe ſuggeſtions, however, made very little impreſſion upon Coſimo's friends, who thought Capponi did not give this advice out of any regard for the public good, but becauſe he was jealous that Coſimo would become too powerful by his friendſhip with the Count, if the latter ſhould make himſelf Duke of Milan. And Coſimo for his own part took upon him to demonſtrate, that aſſiſting the Count would be ſo far from being of any prejudice either to Italy in general, or their own Republic in particular, that it would be of the greateſt ſervice to both: ſince it was folly to imagine that the Milaneſe could maintain their liberties, conſidering the temper of the Citizens, their manner of living, and the factions then reigning amongſt them; all which made it impoſſible to eſtabliſh a Republican form of government in that City: ſo that it muſt of neceſſity happen that either the Count would become Duke, or the Venetians abſolute Lords over it. And in that caſe, nobody could be ſo blind as not to ſee whether it would be more eligible to have a potent friend for their neighbour, or an enemy whoſe power would then be overgrown and uncontroulable. Nor was it to be feared that the Milaneſe would raſhly put themſelves under the dominion of the Venetians, merely becauſe they were at war with the Count; for the Count had a party and friends in Milan, and they had none: upon which account, the Citizens, when they found they could no longer defend their liberties, would certainly be more inclinable to ſubmit to the Count than to the Venetians.

Cosimo.

This difference of opinion amongſt the principal Citizens, kept the Florentines for ſome time in ſuſpence: at laſt, however, they agreed to ſend Ambaſſadors with inſtructions to conclude a treaty of alliance with the Count immediately, provided they ſhould find him in ſuch circumſtances, as made it

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ſeem probable that he would ſucceed in his deſigns; but, otherwiſe, to raiſe difficulties and objections, in order to defer it. Theſe Ambaſſadors were got no further than Reggio, when they heard the Count had taken Milan: for as ſoon as the truce expired, he had ſuddenly inveſted that City again with all his forces, in hopes of carrying it very ſoon in ſpite of the Venetians, who could not ſuccour it on any ſide, except from the Adda, and that paſs was eaſily guarded. He knew very well, that, as it was the winter ſeaſon, the Venetians would not be able to lie in a camp any where near him; and therefore made no doubt of reducing the town long before the return of the Spring, eſpecially ſince Franciſco Piccinino was now dead, and his brother Giacopo left ſole Commander of all their forces.

The Venetians in the mean time had ſent an Ambaſſador to encourage the Milaneſe to make a reſolute defence, with aſſurances alſo of ſpeedy and effectual relief: and there actually happened ſeveral ſlight ſkirmiſhes betwixt their troops and thoſe of the Count, during the courſe of the winter. But as ſoon as the weather grew more favourable, they took the field under the command of Pandolpho Malateſta, and encamped upon the banks of the Adda; where they held a Council of war to conſider whether, in order to ſuccour Milan, they ſhould attack the Count and try the fortune of a battle. Pandolpho their general, who well knew the bravery of the Count and his troops, adviſed them not to run that riſque, and thought they might obtain a more certain victory over him by avoiding an engagement; as the want of forage and other proviſions, muſt in a very ſhort time, oblige him to move his quarters. Upon this conſideration, he perſuaded them to contiuue in the Camp where they then lay, which would keep up the ſpirits of the Milaneſe and prevent them from ſurrendering to the Count. This advice was approved of by the Venetians, becauſe they thought it a ſecure manner of proceeding, and were not without ſome hopes that the

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Milanese, being still kept in great distress, would at last submit to them, rather than the Count, from whom they had received so many injuries. In the mean time the Milanese were reduced to extreme misery; for as there was a great number of poor people in the City, many of them dropped down dead in the streets every day for want of bread: and this occasioning murmurs and complaints in every quarter of it, the Governors began to be apprehensive of an insurrection, and therefore took all possible means to prevent any tumult, or assembling of the people.

The Commonalty are not easily excited to mischief; but when they are at once so disposed, any little accident serves to put them in motion. It happened one day, that two persons of no very great consideration meeting each other near the Porta Nuova, fell into a conversation concerning the miserable condition to which the City was reduced, and what means were left to relieve it. This being over-heard by others, the people insensibly gathered about them till they were increased to such a number, that a report was spread through the town that the inhabitants about Porta Nuova were rising against the Magistracy. Upon which, the populace, who only waited for a proper opportunity, immediately ran to arms, and having appointed one Gaspar da Vico Mercato to be their leader, they made so furious an assault upon the place where the Magistrates were sitting, that all those that could not make their escape by flight were killed upon the spot; amongst whom was Leonardo Veneto, the Venetian ambassador, who had laughed at their miseries, and was thought to be the principal occasion of them. When they had thus in a manner made themselves masters of the City, they began to consult what were the most proper means to be taken, in order to deliver them out of their present distress and restore their former tranquillity. At last it was unanimously agreed amongst them, since they could no longer preserve their freedom and independency, to put themselves under the protection of some Prince that

that was able to defend them. But they could not so readily agree about the person; some proposed King Alphonso, some the Duke of Savoy, and others the King of France, but nobody mentioned the Count; so strong did the resentment of the people run against him! however, as they could not unite in their choice of any other Prince, Vico Mercato at last ventured to propose the Count, and represented to them at large, that if they had a mind to get rid of the war, there was no other way left but to submit to him; as their necessities demanded a certain and immediate peace, and they were no longer in a condition to feed upon the hopes of future succour, which after all might possibly be very uncertain, and at a great distance. He excused the Count's conduct, and threw the blame upon the Venetians and other States in Italy, some of which out of ambition, and others out of jealousy and avarice, would not suffer them to live free; and said, that since they were now under a necessity of giving up their liberties, it behoved them to give them to a person who both knew how, and was sufficiently able to defend them; that so, when they had lost their freedom, they might at least have the consolation of enjoying peace, and not be plunged into a still more dangerous and destructive war.

This harangue was listened to with wonderful attention by the populace, who as soon as he had done speaking, all cried out with one voice for the Count, and immediately dispatched Vico Mercato to invite him into the City: which invitation being accepted with great joy by the Count, he made his entrance into Milan on the 27th of February in the year 1450, and was received there with incredible acclamations by that very people who but a few days before had detested even the name of him *.

* A late author compares the populace to a coquet, who upon some days, is not to be prevailed upon either by sighs, or presents, or sollicitations of any kind. The next day, perhaps, she falls into your arms.—Thus there are some circumstances of affairs in which the most plausible Manifesto's of those that take up arms against their

When

When the news of this revolution arrived at Florence, the Florentines ſent orders to their Ambaſſadors, who were yet upon the road, that inſtead of treating with him as Count Sforza, according to their firſt inſtructions, they ſhould now pay their compliments of congratulation to him as Duke of Milan. Theſe Ambaſſadors were received with great honour, and treated with the higheſt reſpect by the Duke, who well knew that he could not have more faithful or more powerful allies in all Italy than the Florentines, to ſecure him againſt the ambition of the Venetians. For though they were at laſt freed from all apprehenſions of the Viſconti family, it was generally thought they would ſoon be embroiled with the Aragoneſe and the Republic of Venice; as both the former, and the King of Naples looked upon them with a ſuſpicious eye, on account of the connexions they had always had with the court of France; and the Venetians who perceived that the ſtate of Florence was grown as jealous of them as it formerly had been of the Viſconti, and remembered with what inveteracy they themſelves had perſecuted that family, began to be afraid they ſhould have the ſame meaſure now dealt out to them in their turn; and therefore determined to ruin them both if poſſible. In theſe circumſtances, the new Duke of Milan preſently reſolved to enter into an alliance with the Florentines: and the Venetians, on the contrary, made a League with King Alphonſo againſt their *common Enemies*, as they called them; in which they agreed to take up arms at the ſame time, and that the King ſhould invade the Florentine dominions, whilſt the Venetians attacked the Duke; who, being hardly yet ſettled in

Sovereign, will not have the leaſt effect upon the people's allegiance; and at other times, one half only of ſuch pretences will be ſufficient to bring about a revolution.—This, however, is not altogether to be imputed to the levity of the people: for how fickle and inconſtant ſoever they are reckoned, they ſeldom care to ſtir, except impelled by ſome exterior force, as oppreſſion or famine (as in the caſe before us) or the harangues and ambitious intrigues of factious Demagogues.

his government, they imagined would not be able to make head against them, either with his own forces alone, or any other assistance he could procure. But as the League betwixt the two Republics was still in force, and the King had made a treaty with the Florentines upon the conclusion of the war at Piombino, they both thought they could not justify commencing hostilities without some fair pretext for a war. Each of them, therefore, sent an Ambassador to Florence, who gave the Signory there to understand, that they did not design, by the engagements they had lately entered into with one another, to act offensively against any State whatsoever; but merely to defend their own. After which, the Venetian Ambassador, complained that the Florentines had given Alexander, the Duke's brother, leave to pass with his forces through Lunigiana into Lombardy; and that they had been the authors and advisers of the agreement made betwixt the Duke of Milan and the Marquis of Mantua, to the great prejudice of their Republic, and in open violation of the treaty of alliance then subsisting betwixt them: upon which account, he begged leave to represent to them in a friendly manner, that whoever injures another person without cause, gives him a just right to revenge; and that, if they broke the peace they must naturally expect a war.

Cosimo

To these remonstrances Cosimo de' Medici was ordered by the Signiory to return their answer; who addressing himself with much temper and prudence to the Ambassadors, recited at large the many services and good offices the Republic of Venice had received from that of Florence, and the obligations they lay under to it for the vast acquisitions they had made by the assistance of the Florentines, whose treasure, and arms, and counsel had ever been at their service. After which he told them, "that as the Florentines had been the authors and promoters of the union betwixt them, they would not be the first to break it; for having always been lovers of peace themselves, they they had nothing to say against the engagements the

Vene-

Venetians had entered into with King Alphonſo, provided they were not intended to diſturb the public tranquillity. That indeed they could not help being a little ſurprized that ſo wiſe and majeſtic a Commonwealth ſhould think it worth their while to be at the trouble of making complaints of ſuch trifling and inſignificant matters as the paſſage of Alexander Sforza through Lunigiana, and the agreement betwixt the Duke of Milan and the Marquis of Mantua: but if they thought they deſerved any anſwer, the Florentines took that opportunity of declaring that a paſſage through their dominions ſhould always be open to any friend: and as for the other point, the Duke was a Prince of ſuch abilities, that he did not ſtand in need of their advice or direction in the choice of his allies. That he therefore ſuſpected there was ſomething more at the bottom of theſe cavils than he could at preſent diſcover; but if that ſhould be the caſe, the Florentines would let the world ſee that they had it in their power, not only to be good friends but dangerous enemies." Things however were pretty well compoſed for that time, and the Ambaſſadors ſeemed to go away ſatisfied: but the concluſion of ſuch a treaty, and the ſubſequent behaviour of the Venetians and King Alphonſo, gave the Duke and the Florentines much more reaſon to expect the breaking out of a new war, than to hope for a continuance of the peace. The Florentines therefore having entered into a ſtrict confederacy with the Duke, the Venetians began to diſcover their hoſtile deſigns by driving all the Florentines and their dependants out of the territories of Venice: and ſoon after Alphonſo did the ſame, without the leaſt regard to the treaty he had made with them the year before, without any juſt cauſe, or ſo much as a ſpecious pretence. The Venetians likewiſe endeavoured to reduce the Bologneſe; and having furniſhed ſome of their exiles with forces, they marched towards that City in the night, and got into it through an old ſubterraneous aqueduct ſo privately that no body was aware of their entrance till

they gave the alarm themſelves: upon which, the Governor Santi Bentivoglio, who was awake though in bed, being informed that the City was ſurprized by the exiles, immediately got up and reſolved to face the enemy. And though he was adviſed by many that were about him to ſave himſelf by flight if poſſible, ſince he could not ſave the City if he ſtaid; yet he put on his armour and having gathered together ſome friends whom he encouraged to follow him, he attacked the enemy, and not only routed them, but killed many and drove the reſt out of the City: by which courageous behaviour, every body acknowledged that he had given ſufficient proof that he was really deſcended from the Houſe of the Bentivogli.

Theſe proceedings fully confirmed the Florentines in their apprehenſions of a war, and determined them to make the uſual preparations for their defence: for which purpoſe they created a *Council of Ten*, took new Commanders into their pay, ſent Ambaſſadors to Rome, Naples, Venice, Milan, and Siena, to demand ſuccours of their allies, to know what they might certainly depend upon from thoſe of whom they were doubtful, to fix ſuch as were wavering, and to penetrate into the deſigns of their enemies.

From the Pope they got nothing but general declarations of his good diſpoſition towards them, and exhortations to peace. The King of Naples contented himſelf with making trifling excuſes for having driven the ſubjects of the Florentines out of his dominions, and offered ſafe conducts to ſuch as ſtill remained behind if they pleaſed to aſk them. And though he endeavoured by all means to conceal his hoſtile deſigns, yet the Ambaſſadors plainly diſcovered them, and that he was making great preparations to invade their Republic. With the Duke they not only renewed their League, but ſtrengthened it with ſeveral additional articles; and by his means all former differences betwixt them and the Genoeſe were compromiſed with ſo much ſatisfaction on both ſides, that they became good friends to each other, though the

the Venetians left no ſtone unturned to prevent their reconciliation, and went ſo far as even to ſollicit the Emperor of Conſtantinople to baniſh all Florentines out of his Empire: with ſo much rancour did they begin the war, ſo inſatiable was their ambition of rule, and ſo fully bent were they upon the utter deſtruction of thoſe to whom they entirely owed all their power and greatneſs! but that Prince paying no regard to their ſollicitations, the Senate of Venice forbad the Florentine Ambaſſadors to enter their territories; alledging, that as they were in League with the King of Naples and Arragon, they could not admit of any Embaſſies without his participation. But the Sienese received their Ambaſſadors with much ſhew of kindneſs and reſpect; though it was only out of fear of being over-run by their Maſters before the other ſide could ſend them any ſuccours: and therefore they thought it the beſt way to amuſe them for a time, as they were not then in a capacity to make any reſiſtance. The Venetians however and King Alphonſo deſigned (as it was then ſaid) to have ſent Ambaſſadors to Florence, in order to juſtify the war they were going to make upon that Republic: but as the Venetian Ambaſſador was refuſed entrance into the Florentine dominions, and the other did not care to take that charge wholly upon himſelf, that Embaſſy fell to the ground; and the Venetians had the mortification to ſee themſelves treated with as much contempt and diſregard as they had treated the Florentines but a little while before.

In the midſt of theſe apprehenſions, the Emperor Frederic III. * came into Italy to be crowned, and on the 30th of January in the year 1451, made his entry

* This Emperor, ſurnamed the Pacific, began his reign in 1440, and reigned 53 years. He was a Prince of great generoſity and prudence; and naturally abhorring war, he endeavoured to ſupply in policy what he wanted in power. He bore the inſults that had been offered him by ſeveral of the Popes, with ſuch patience, that the Italians uſed to ſay, *he had a dead ſoul in a living body*. It was in the 12th year of his reign that he went to Rome to receive his crown at the hands of the Pope.

into Florence with fifteen hundred horſe, where he was received with the higheſt honours by the Signiory, and ſtaid there till the Sixth of February; at which time he departed for Rome, to receive his Crown from the hands of the Pope. After that ceremony was over, and his marriage conſummated with the Empreſs *, who had come thither by Sea, he returned into Germany; but came back again to Florence the May following, where he was treated with the ſame demonſtrations of reſpect that he had been before: and having been magnificently entertained by the Marquis of Ferrara as he was going back into Germany the ſecond time, he, in return for thoſe civilities, made that Prince a grant of Modena and Reggio. But the Florentines were not diverted by theſe ſolemnities from making due preparation for the approaching war: and to give reputation to their arms, and ſtrike a terror into the enemy, they and the Duke entered into a League with the King of France, for the mutual defence of each other's dominions, which they publiſhed with great triumph and oſtentation all over Italy.

1452 It was now the month of May in the year 1452, when the Venetians reſolving to defer the hoſtilities no longer, entered the Duke of Milan's dominions with ſixteen thouſand horſe and ſix thouſand foot by the way of Lodi: whilſt the Marquis of Monferrat, either moved by his own ambition or the inſtigation of the Venetians, at the ſame time likewiſe invaded him on the ſide of Alexandria. The Duke on the other hand, having aſſembled an army of eighteen thouſand horſe and three thouſand foot (after he had put ſufficient garriſons, not only into Lodi and Alexandria, but into all other ſuch places as he thought were moſt liable to be attacked by the enemy) fell into the territories of Breſcia, where he made prodigious havock; laying waſte the country on every ſide, and plundering all the towns that were not well fortified,

* Eleanora, Infanta of Portugal.

And

And the Marquis of Montferrat being alſo defeated by the garriſons at Alexandria, gave the Duke an opportunity of turning with all his forces upon the Venetians and attacking them with greater vigour.

Whilſt the war was thus carried on in Lombardy with various ſucceſs on both ſides, but in ſo feeble a manner that nothing was done worth relating on either, the flame likewiſe broke out in Tuſcany, but not with greater vehemence, nor more danger than it had done in Lombardy. Ferdinand the illegitimate Son of King Alphonſo, had marched into thoſe parts with twelve thouſand men commanded by Frederic Lord of Urbino; and their firſt enterprize was an attempt upon Foiano in the Vale of Chiana: for the Sieneſe being their friends, they entered the Florentine dominions on that ſide. That fortreſs was but a ſmall one, and neither ſtrong nor well garriſoned; the number of men which had been ſent thither by the Signiory for its defence not exceeding two hundred: but they were reckoned as good and faithful ſoldiers as any in thoſe times. Before this place Ferdinand ſat down: however, either the reſolution of the beſieged was ſo great, or the conduct of the beſiegers ſo bad, that it did not ſurrender till after ſix and thirty days: which gave the Florentines time to provide better for places of greater importance, to aſſemble their troops, and make more effectual preparations for their defence.

After the reduction of this fortreſs, the enemy advanced into the territories of Chianti, where they made an aſſault upon two other places that were defended only by the townſmen, but were not able to carry them. From thence they paſſed on to Caſtellina, a town on the confines of Chianti, about ten miles from Siena, neither well fortified by art, nor ſtrong by its natural ſituation: yet, weak as it was in all reſpects, they could not make themſelves maſters of it; ſo that after they had inveſted it on every ſide for the ſpace of forty days, they were forced to raiſe the ſiege and make a ſhameful retreat. For ſo con-

temptible were their armies in thoſe days, and their method of making war attended with ſo little danger, that towns which now would be abandoned as incapable of being maintained, were then defended in ſuch a manner, as if they thought them impoſſible to be taken.

Whilſt Ferdinand was in the Country of Chianti, he made daily incurſions into the Florentine dominions, and not only committed terrible depredations there, but advanced with ſome of his parties within ſix miles of the City, to the great conſternation and diſtreſs of the Governors there; who having aſſembled their forces to the number of eight thouſand near the Caſtle of Colle, under the Command of Aſtorre da Faenza and Giſmondo Malateſta, did not care however to come to an engagement, but kept at a good diſtance from the enemy: becauſe they knew very well, as long as their army was entire, they could not ſuffer much by the war; as the little places which might be taken from them, would be reſtored at the concluſion of a peace; and for thoſe of greater conſequence they were in no pain, being aſſured that the enemy would not then venture to make any attempt upon them. King Alphonſo had likewiſe a fleet conſiſting of about twenty ſail of Gallies and other ſuch veſſels hovering upon the Coaſt of Piſa; and whilſt he beſieged Caſtellina by land, he made an attack upon the Caſtle of Vada by Sea, which he took through the negligence of the Governor. This acquiſition gave him an opportunity of infeſting all the adjacent Country: but his excurſions were at laſt checked by ſome forces which the Florentines ſent to Campiglia, who put an end to thoſe depredations, and kept his men cloſely confined to the Sea Coaſt.

The Pope in the mean time did not interfere in theſe broils any further than in endeavouring to reeſtabliſh peace amongſt the contending parties. But whilſt he had the addreſs to keep himſelf out of the war abroad, he was in no little danger at home.

There

There was at that time in Rome one Stephen Porcari, a Citizen by birth, of a noble family and great learning, but much more eminent for the generosity of his mind. This Stephen (like men that are ambitious of glory) resolved to perform, or at least to attempt some action of *Eclat* that should make him memorable to posterity. And nothing seemed to him more honourable than an attempt to rescue his Country out of the hands of the Prelates, and restore it to its ancient liberty: in hopes, if he succeeded, of being called *The second Founder and Father of Rome.* What animated him to this enterprise, was the corruption, insolence, and dissolute lives of the Prelates; at which, both the Nobility and common people of Rome were highly disgusted. But his chief confidence was founded upon some verses in one of Petrarch's Sonnets, which begins thus, *Spirto gentile*, &c. The verses are these,

> "Sopra il monte Tarpeio Canzon vedrai
> Un Cavalier, ch' Italia tutta onora
> Pensoso piu d' altrui che di se Stesso."

> On the Tarpein Mount my Muse shall see
> A Cavalier ador'd by Italy,
> Regardless of himself, to set his Country free.

Stephen was possessed with a conceit, that Poets are often inspired with a divine and prophetic spirit; and taking it for granted, that what Petrarch had thus foretold, would certainly come to pass, he looked upon himself as the man destined for the execution of so glorious an undertaking; as he thought he was far superior to all his fellow-citizens in learning, eloquence, friends, and popular favour. Having taken this into his head, he could not contain himself within the common bounds of reserve, but behaved with so much indiscretion, both in his words and actions, and manner of living, that the Pope beginning to suspect he had some bad design in agitation, immediately banished him to Bologna, in order to keep

him out of mischief, and sent instructions to the Governor of that City, to keep a strict eye upon his actions, and to see him every day at such an hour. Stephen, however, was so far from being daunted at this rebuff, that he pursued his designs with much more resolution and assiduity than before, holding a secret correspendence with his friends at Rome, and often going thither and back again himself, with so much expedition, that he was always in time to present himself before the Governor at the appointed hour. So that when he thought he had drawn a sufficient number into the conspiracy, being determined to defer the execution of it no longer, he sent orders to his friends at Rome, to prepare a splendid supper on such an evening, where all the conspirators were to meet, and bring as many confidants with them as they could fully depend upon, promising to be with them before supper was over. When every thing was settled, therefore, according to his instructions, he came to the house where they supped, and having put on an embroidered mantle, with a chain of gold about his neck, and other ornaments, to give him the more majesty and authority, he entered the room where the conspirators were assembled; and after he had tenderly embraced them all, made a long and pathetic speech to them, wherein he exhorted them to behave like men, and prepare themselves for the execution of so glorious a purpose. After which, he gave every man his separate charge, ordering one part of them to seize upon the Pope's palace early the next morning, and the other to run about the streets, and excite the people to take up arms. But the plot was discovered that very night; some say, by the information of certain of his accomplices, and others, by his having been seen in the City himself. However that might be, the Pope caused him, and the greater part of the Conspirators, to be immediately apprehended, and afterwards put to death, as they might well expect. Such was the event of this undertaking! and though, indeed, Porcari's intention

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in it may ſeem worthy of praiſe to ſome people *, yet his judgment and manner of conducting it muſt be condemned by every one: for notwithſtanding enterprizes of this kind have ſome ſhadow of glory in the projection, they are almoſt always attended with the ruin of the projectors.

The war in Tuſcany had now continued almoſt twelve months, and in the Spring of the year 1453, when both armies had taken the field, Alexander Sforza, the Duke of Milan's brother, came to the ſuccour of the Florentines, with two thouſand horſe; ſo that their army being augmented, and that of King Alphonſo rather diminiſhed, the Florentines reſolved to uſe their endeavours to recover what had been loſt, and without much difficulty retook ſeveral towns. After this, they ſat down before Foiano, which being ſacked through the negligence of the Commiſſaries, the inhabitants were diſperſed in ſuch a manner, that they could not be prevailed upon to return, till great rewards and exemptions were offered them. They likewiſe recovered the fortreſs of Vada; for the enemy finding they could not keep it, firſt ſet the Caſtle on fire, and then abandoned it. But whilſt the Florentine army was making this progreſs, the king's not daring to face them, had retreated towards Siena, and made ſeveral incurſions into their territories on that ſide, where they committed great outrages, and filled all the Country with terror and confuſion. The King alſo endeavoured to annoy them in another quarter, in order to divide their forces, and to harraſs and diſtreſs them as many ways as he could, in hopes of humbling them at laſt. Gerardo Gambacorta was then Lord of the Vale of Bagno, whoſe Anceſtors,

* Conſpiring againſt the State, Mr. Bayle ſays, is the greateſt crime a man can be guilty of, and yet ſome perſons ſuffer themſelves to be drawn into conſpiracies by ſuch motives as they think are morally good: ſo true it is, that man's conſcience is liable to the moſt lamentable errors! Brutus, and ſeveral of thoſe whom he prevailed upon to aſſaſſinate Julius Cæſar, were men of the moſt eminent probity and virtue.

as well as himſelf, having been under great obligations to the Florentines, had always lived in amity with them, and were conſtantly either in their pay, or recommended by them to others. With this man Alphonſo began to tamper, and offered him another State in the Kingdom of Naples, which was more than an equivalent, provided he would deliver up that territory to him. But when this came to be known at Florence, the Signiory ſent an Ambaſſador to ſee how he ſtood affected; who was likewiſe at the ſame time to remind him of the favours which he and his family had received from that Republic, and to exhort him to continue faithful to it. Upon which, Gambacorta ſeeming to be much ſurprized at the imputation, aſſured them, with the moſt ſolemn oaths and aſſeverations, that ſo wicked a thought had never entered his head, and proffered not only to go back again with them to Florence, but to reſide there as a ſecurity for his fidelity. But as he pretended to be in an ill ſtate of health, he ſaid, what he could not do himſelf at that time, without great inconvenience, his Son ſhould do for him, and delivered him up to the Ambaſſadors as an Hoſtage. Theſe aſſurances and proofs ſeemed ſo convincing, that they fully confided in him, and looked upon the charge as a mere calumny. Upon this, Gambacorta proſecuted the agreement with the King with more earneſtneſs; and when it was concluded, his Majeſty ſent Brother Puccio, a Knight of the Order of St. John at Jeruſalem *, with a good body of forces into the Vale of Bagno to receive ſuch Caſtles and Towns as were in Gerardo's poſſeſſion; though the inhabitants of that Vale, who were very well affected to the Republic of Florence, ſubmitted to the King's Commiſſaries with great reluctance. Puccio, however, made himſelf maſter of all that territority, except the Caſtle of Corzano: but when Gambacorta was upon the point of delivering up that fortreſs alſo into the enemy's

* Now called Knights of Malta.

hands,

hands, there happened to be amongſt his attendants, one Antonio Gualandi, a native of Piſa, and a ſpirited young man, who inwardly deteſted the perfidious behaviour of his maſter. This man, who was well acquainted with the ſituation of the place, and perceived by the countenance and behaviour of the garriſon, that they were much diſſatisfied at ſuch a manner of proceeding, ſeeing Gambacorta ſtanding at one of the gates to admit the King's forces, laid hold of him with both hands, and having thruſt him out of the Caſtle, called upon the garriſon to ſhut the gate upon ſo vile a wretch, and preſerve the fortreſs for the Republic of Florence. And no ſooner was the news of this event known at Bagno, but the inhabitants there, and of all the neighbouring places, immediately took up arms againſt King Alphonſo's garriſons, and hoiſting Florentine Colours, drove them entirely out of all thoſe towns. The Florentines alſo being informed of what had happened, committed their Hoſtage, young Gambacorta, to priſon, and ſending forces to defend that territory, in the Name of the Republic, they reduced it to a Bailiwick, dependant upon themſelves, from a State, which, for a great number of years, had been governed by Princes of its own. The Father, in the mean time, having betrayed both his Allies and his Son, with great difficulty made his eſcape, and wandering about the world like a Vagabond, left his wife and family, and all his poſſeſſions, in the hands of the enemy. This ſudden revolution was of the utmoſt importance to the Florentines; for if the King had been in full poſſeſſion of that Country, he would have had it in his power to make incurſions into the Vale of Tevere, and the Territories of Caſentino, with very little difficulty, whenever he pleaſed; where he would have been a continual thorn in their ſides, and obliged them to divide their forces in ſuch a manner, that they could not have turned their whole power againſt his main army, which then lay near Siena.

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Besides the steps which the Florentines had taken in Italy to stop the progress of the enemy, they likewise sent Agnolo Acciaiuoli as Ambassador to the King of France, to pray that his Majesty would let King Regnier of Anjou return into Italy to the assistance of their Republic and the Duke of Milan, his antient allies; where he might also take proper measures for the recovery of the Kingdom of Naples, in which undertaking they promised to furnish him both with men and money. Accordingly, whilst the war was carried on in the manner we have related in Lombardy and Tuscany, that ambassador concluded an agreement with King Regnier; in which it was stipulated, that he should come into Italy by the latter end of June at furthest, with two thousand four hundred horse; that upon his arrival at Alexandria, he should be immediately supplied with thirty thousand Florins in ready money, and ten thousand more every month, as long as the war continued. In consequence of this treaty, he had got his forces in readiness to march; but their passage was obstructed by the Duke of Savoy and the Marquis of Montferrat, who were in alliance with the Venetians. Upon which, Regnier was advised by the Florentine Ambassador to turn aside into Provence, and endeavour to pass by Sea into Italy with what forces he could, in order to give some reputation at least to his friends: and at the same time to try if he could not prevail upon the King of France to use his good offices with the Duke of Savoy so effectually as to obtain him a passage through his dominions. This being granted at last, to oblige the King of France, some part of Regnier's troops marched through Savoy, whilst he transported himself, with the rest, by Sea, to join them in Italy; where, upon his arrival, he was received with the highest honours by the Duke of Milan: and these two Princes having united their forces, attacked the Venetians with so much vigour on every side, that they soon not only recovered all the places which had been taken from them in the Cremonese, but made themselves

ſelves maſters of almoſt all the territory of Breſcia, with ſuch rapidity, that the Venetian Commiſſaries not thinking their army ſecure in the field, retreated and took ſhelter under the walls of that City. However, as the Duke was then at Verona, and the ſeaſon of the year pretty far advanced, he thought it neceſſary, for the refreſhment of his men, to put them into winter quarters; and having conſigned Placentia to Regnier, for that purpoſe, they ſtaid all the reſt of the year 1453, and the beginning of the next, in thoſe places, without attempting any thing farther. But as ſoon as the weather began to grow more temperate, and the Duke was preparing to take the field again, in hopes of ſtripping the Venetians of all their dominions upon the Terra Firma, Regnier gave him to underſtand, that his own affairs laid him under an abſolute neceſſity of returning into France.

This ſudden and unexpected reſolution, greatly chagrined the Duke: and though he immediately took poſt, and went to him at Placentia, to ſee if he could not prevail upon him to change it, yet all his offers and entreaties were to no purpoſe: he only promiſed to leave part of his forces behind him, and to ſend his ſon John to ſerve the allies in his ſtead. The Florentines, on the contrary, were not at all diſpleaſed at this event; for as they had now recovered all the towns that had been taken from them, they were no longer afraid of King Alphonſo, nor did they deſire that the Duke of Milan ſhould become poſſeſſed of any thing more than what belonged to him in Lombardy. Regnier accordingly returned into his own Country, but ſent his ſon, as he had promiſed, into Italy; who did not ſtop in Lombardy, but came directly to Florence, where he was received with much reſpect.

After the departure of Regnier, the Duke of Milan ſeemed diſpoſed to a peace; the Venetians, King Alphonſo, and the Florentines, being all tired of the war, were likewiſe deſirous of it; and the Pope had always taken great pains, and ſtill laboured with much ear-

earneſtneſs to bring about an accommodation betwixt the different parties: for Mahomet the Grand Turk had taken Conſtantinople that year, and made himſelf Maſter of all Greece *; an acquiſition that ſtruck terror into all the Princes of Chriſtendom, but eſpecially into the Pope and the Venetians, who imagined, they already felt the weight of his arms in their dominions. His Holineſs, therefore, vehemently ſollicited every State in Italy to ſend their reſpective Am-

* Voltaire having at large recited the cauſes that contributed to the loſs of this great ſeat of the Eaſtern Empire, ſays, "Mahomet II. was twenty-two years of age, when he aſcended the throne of the Sultans. From that time he bent his mind upon the conqueſt of Conſtantinople, whilſt that unhappy City was rent into factions and ſchiſms, diſputing and quarrelling whether they ſhould make uſe of leavened or unleavened bread in the ſacrament; and whether it was better to pray in Latin or Greek. He began therefore, with blockading the City; and in the beginning of April, 1453, the adjacent Country was covered with near three hundred thouſand Turks, and the Strait of Propontis with about three hundred gallies, and two hundred ſmaller veſſels. One of the moſt extraordinary, and yet beſt atteſted facts, is the uſe that Mahomet made of thoſe ſhips. They could not get into the Port, the mouth of it being barricaded with ſtrong booms and chains of iron, and beſides, in all probability, advantageouſly defended. One night, therefore, he ordered the ground to be covered for the ſpace of two leagues in length with fir planks, greaſed with tallow and oil, and laid like the manger of a ſhip: after which, by the aſſiſtance of machines, and bodily labour, he cauſed fourſcore gallies, and ſeventy tenders or ſmaller veſſels, to be hauled out of the Strait, and rolled away over theſe planks. All this great work was finiſhed in one night; and early in the morning, the beſieged ſaw with aſtoniſhment, an entire fleet deſcend from the land into their harbour. The next day, a bridge of boats was built within ſight of them, and ſerved for the erecting a battery of cannon.

After a ſiege of forty-nine days, the Emperor Conſtantine was obliged to capitulate, and ſent ſeveral Greeks to receive the Law of the Conqueror, who granted them terms. But as theſe Deputies were returning to the City, Mahomet recollecting ſomething which he had forgot to add, ordered ſome of his people to ride after them. Upon which, the beſieged on the top of the ramparts, ſeeing a body of Turks gallopping after the Deputies, imprudently fired at them. The Turks were ſoon joined by a greater number, and juſt as the Deputies were entering the gate, the enemy ruſhed in pell-mell along with them, and made themſelves maſters of the upper town, which is ſeparated from the lower. The Emperor Conſtantine XIII. was killed in the crowd, after he had fought to the laſt, with incredible courage: and when the Sultan had made himſelf Maſter of one half of Conſtantinople, he granted the ſame terms to the other half that he had offered to the whole City, which were accepted, and punctually obſerved by him." Voltaire's Gen. Hiſt. vol. ii. part i. p. 55. &c.

baſſadors

baſſadors to him at Rome, with full powers to conclude a general peace; with which they all complied. But when they met, and their ſeveral pretenſions came to be diſcuſſed, many difficulties and impediments occurred, which ſeemed inſurmountable. The King of Naples expected that the Florentines ſhould indemnify him for the expences he had been at in the war; and the Florentines made the ſame demand upon him. The Venetians inſiſted upon the Duke giving up Cremona to them; and the Duke would not be ſatisfied except they reſtored Bergamo, Breſcia, and Crema. So that theſe obſtacles ſeemed impoſſible to be removed. Nevertheleſs, what appeared ſo difficult at Rome, where the matter was canvaſſed by ſo many, was ſoon got over at Milan and Venice, where it was conducted by fewer managers: for whilſt the treaty went very ſlowly forwards under the mediation of his Holineſs, the Duke and the Venetians concluded one betwixt themſelves, on the ninth of April, 1454; by which ſuch towns were to be reſtored to each other, as they were reſpectively in poſſeſſion of before the beginning of the war; the Duke was left at liberty to recover thoſe places, if he could, that had been ſeized upon by the Duke of Savoy, and the Marquis of Montferrat; and the reſt of the Italian Princes were to have a month given them to accede to the treaty, if they ſo pleaſed. The Pope, the Florentines, together with the Sieneſe, and ſeveral other inferior States, came into it within that time; beſides which, a peace was concluded betwixt the Florentines, the Duke, and the Venetians, for the term of twenty-five years.

Of all the Princes in Italy, King Alphonſo alone was diſſatisfied at the peace, as he thought it would be a derogation to his Majeſty to be admitted rather as an auxiliary than a principal; upon which account he continued ſome time in ſuſpence, and would not acquaint them with his reſolution. At laſt, however, after ſeveral formal embaſſies from the Pope and other

States, he ſuffered himſelf to be prevailed upon, (chiefly at the inſtance of his Holineſs) and both he and his Son acceded to the treaty, which was renewed for thirty years: at the ſame time a double alliance was contracted betwixt his family and the Duke's; each of thoſe Princes giving his daughter in marriage to the Son of the other. Nevertheleſs as the evil deſtiny of Italy would have ſome ſeeds of future diſcords and troubles ſtill left, he refuſed to ratify the treaty after all, except the reſt of the contracting powers would ſuffer him to make war upon the Genoeſe, Giſmondo Malateſta Lord of Rimini, and Aſtorre Prince of Faenza, without being in any wiſe impeded or moleſted in his operations by them. This being likewiſe complied with, Ferdinand his Son, who was then at Sienna, returned into the Kingdom of Naples, after he had loſt a great number of his men, and gained no material advantage by coming into Tuſcany.

A general peace being thus concluded, the only apprehenſion that remained, was, that it would ſoon be diſturbed again by the enmity which King Alphonſo bore to the Genoeſe. But it proved otherwiſe; for in all outward appearance the ſubſequent troubles were not owing to that Prince, but to the ambition of mercenary Soldiers, which indeed had been the occaſion of moſt of thoſe that had happened before. The Venetians (according to their cuſtom at the end of a war) diſcharged their General Giacopo Piccinino, who retired with ſome other Commanders and forces into Romagna, but without having then formed any other deſign. From thence Piccinino paſſed into the territories of Siena, where he began a war upon the Sieneſe, and took ſeveral of their towns. In the beginning of theſe broils, and of the year 1455, Pope Nicholas died, and was ſucceeded by Calixtus III. This Pontif, in order to extinguiſh a flame which he ſaw juſt ready to break out again almoſt at his own door, immediately aſſembled what troops he could, under the Command of

of his General Ventimiglia, and ſent them againſt Piccinino, in conjunction with the forces of the Duke and the Florentines, who likewiſe concurred with him in their endeavours to prevent the growing evils. Near Bolſena, they came to an engagement; in which, notwithſtanding Ventimiglia was taken priſoner, Piccinino was routed and forced to fly in great diſorder to Caſtiglione della Peſcaia, where if he had not been ſupplied with money by King Alphonſo, he muſt have been utterly undone: a circumſtance which gave every one reaſon to ſuſpect this enterprize was undertaken and proſecuted by the order and direction of that Prince. So that Alphonſo perceiving his deſigns were diſcovered, endeavoured to make up a peace, in order to regain the confidence of his allies, which he had almoſt loſt by this feeble and pitiful attempt: and for that purpoſe he ſet a treaty on foot, wherein it was agreed that Piccinino ſhould reſtore all the places he had taken from the Sieneſe, and that they ſhould pay him twenty thouſand Florins; after which, he received both him and his forces into his own Kingdom.

At this time the Pope, though very watchful over Piccinino's motions, was making great preparations for the Common ſupport of Chriſtendom, which he ſaw in imminent danger of being over-run by the Turk; and not only ſent Ambaſſadors, but Preachers into every part of Europe to exhort all Chriſtian Princes and people to take up arms in defence of their Religion againſt the Common enemy, and to aſſiſt each other in ſo laudable an undertaking with their perſons as well as their purſes: in conſequence of which, great ſums were raiſed at Florence, and many wore red Croſſes to ſhew they were ready to ſerve perſonally in ſuch an Expedition. They likewiſe made ſolemn Proceſſions to implore the bleſſing of God upon their arms. And all perſons, in order to ſhew the warmth of their zeal for the Chriſtian religion, were eager in offering their advice, their for-

tunes and perſons, to forward this enterprize. But theſe apprehenſions and this rage of Cruſading were in ſome meaſure abated when news arrived, that the Grand Signior, having laid ſiege to Belgrade (a fortreſs in Hungary ſituated upon the Danube) was not only routed, but wounded himſelf. So that the Pope and other Chriſtian States, having now recovered themſelves a little from the panic which the loſs of Conſtantinople had ſtruck into them, proceeded afterwards with leſs vigour in their preparations for the proſecution of that war, which ſeemed to be much damped in Hungary likewiſe by the death of their Waivode who had obtained that ſignal Victory *.

But to return to the affairs of Italy. The diſturbances which had been raiſed by Giacopo Piccinino being compoſed and arms laid down on every ſide, it pleaſed God to viſit Tuſcany with a ſtorm of wind that wrought ſuch effects as had never been heard of

* This was the famous John Corvinus, or Huniades, Waiwode of Tranſylvania, General of the Hungarian armies, under King Ladiſlaus, and one of the greateſt commanders of his time. He was almoſt continually engaged in wars with the Turks, whom he beat in two battles, one in the year 1442, the other in the year following, and forced them to retire from before Belgrade after a ſiege of ſeven months. He was at the battle of Verna, ſo fatal to Chriſtendom: where Ladiſlaus was killed in 1444. Afterwards he was made Governor of Hungary, and his name became ſo formidable to the Turks, that they looked upon him as a ſcourge ſent to chaſtiſe their nation, and called him *Jancus Lain*, that is, John the Wicked. He was beat by them, however, in a battle that was fought on the 17th, 18th, and 19th days of October, 1448. But he prevented them a ſecond time from taking Belgrade, in 1458, when it was beſieged by Mahomet II. with an army of two hundred and fifty thouſand men; forty thouſand of whom were killed, and the reſt abandoned the ſiege in a precipate manner, leaving all their baggage, artillery, and ammunition, behind them. He died the ſame year at Zemplin, and Mahomet, who ſaid he was the greateſt ſoldier in the world, is reported to have lamented his death, and thought himſelf unfortunate, becauſe there was no other warrior of equal eminence left, by defeating whom, he might retrieve the glory he had loſt. Pope Calixtus wept, and all Chriſtendom was in affliction when he died. Thuroſius. in Chron. Hungar. The word Vaivode or Woiewoda, ſignifies a Prince, Duke, Governor, or chief Magiſtrate, and in the northern parts is generally a feudal dignity. There is in Selden's *Titles of Honour*, an inveſtiture, ſolemn livery, or infeodation of Moldavia to Stephen—as Vaivode thereof in the year 1485.

before

before that time, and will ſeem marvellous to poſterity †. About an hour before Sun-riſe on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, a dark thick Cloud which ſeemed to extend itſelf about two miles every way, aroſe out of the Gulf of Venice near Ancona; and traverſing the Continent of Italy from eaſt to weſt, bent its courſe towards the Sea coaſt of Piſa. This cloud being driven forwards (whether by a natural or ſupernatural impulſe I will not take upon me to determine) was broken at laſt into ſeveral parts, which ſometimes were hurried up to a vaſt height in the air, ſometimes precipitated themſelves towards the earth, daſhing violently againſt each other, and whirling round in a ſpiral manner with aſtoniſhing rapidity. Theſe concuſſions, attended with a furious Hurricane of wind, inceſſant flaſhes of red lightening, and ſuch dreadful burſts as far exceeded the loudeſt thunder or the moſt diſmal craſhes of an earthquake, made every man's heart fail within him; as they thought the world was certainly at an end and the elements reſolving into their original Chaos.

No leſs amazing were the effects of this tempeſt where ever it paſſed; but moſt remarkable in the neighbourhood of St. Caſſiano, a Caſtle about eight miles from Florence, upon the mountains which divide the Vale of Piſa from that of Grieve. For paſſing betwixt that Caſtle and the Bourg of St. Andrew, which ſtands upon the ſame hills, it never

† The new world was not diſcovered at that time: if it had, Sailors would have called this ſtorm (terrible as it was) but *a cap-full of wind*, in compariſon of thoſe dreadful hurricanes which frequently happen in the Weſt Indies. The Editor of this work had the misfortune to be an eye-witneſs of one of them in Jamaica, in October 1744. There were at that time ninety-five merchant veſſels, and eight men of war, in Port Royal Harbour; of which, only his Majeſty's ſhip the Rippon, rode it out, all the reſt being either wrecked, or driven aſhore, and ſome of them a great way up into the Country; where they were left *high and dry* (as the ſea phraſe is) when the waters ſubſided. The damage which the Iſland likewiſe ſuſtained by that calamity, was hardly to be computed; and the havock it made, ſo prodigious and uncommon, that a particular narrative of it would be credited by few.

reached the latter, and brushed the former in so slight a manner, that it only blew down some chimnies and battlements: but in the space betwixt those two places it laid numbers of houses flat with the ground. The roofs of St. Martin's Church at Bagnuola, and of Santa Maria della Pace were taken off and carried away entire above a mile. A carrier and his mules were hurried out of the road into a neighbouring valley and there found dead. Many of the sturdiest Oaks and other huge trees that did not bend to the fury of the blast, not only had their branches stripped off but were torn up by the roots and carried to a considerable distance. So that when the storm ceased and day light began to appear, the inhabitants of the Country stood in amazement as if they had been thunderstruck or stupified. The fields were desolated, the Churches and houses entirely demolished, and nothing to be heard but the cries and lamentations of those that had lost their whole substance, and had not only their Cattle, but their families also buried in the ruins. A spectacle indeed, that must fill the hardest heart with terror and compassion! but God in his mercy seemed to intend this calamity rather as a warning, than a chastisement to Tuscany in general: for if such a storm had fallen upon a large and populous City, instead of a Country where there was not any very considerable number of houses and inhabitants, and little else to spend its rage upon but trees and thickets, without doubt the havock it must have made would have been greater than can well be conceived. The Divine Being was pleased however to restrain his Vengeance, and to let this scourge suffice for that time, to revive in mankind a due sense of his Almighty power *.

* These reflections do not seem to favour much of Atheism, with which Machiavel has been so liberally charged, and often by people that never read any of his works. He speaks pretty freely, indeed, of the Church of Rome, and its corruption; which being reckoned a Mortal Sin in one of that Communion, seldom goes without its

But

But to resume the thread of our narrative. King Alphonso, as we have said before, was dissatisfied with the peace; and as the war, which he had caused Giacopo Piccinino to make upon the Sienese without any reasonable occasion, was attended with no material advantage, he was resolved to try his fortune in that which he was allowed to commence with the Genoese by the articles of the late treaty. Accordingly in the year 1456, he invaded them both by sea and land, with a design to take the government of their State out of the hands of the Fregosi, who were then in possession of it, and to restore it to the Adorni. On the other hand, he sent Giacopo Piccinino over the Tronto, with a body of forces to fall upon Gismondo Malatesta; who having put all his towns in a good posture of defence, made so vigorous a resistance, that his Majesty's arms met with no success in that enterprize: and his attempt upon Genoa afterwards involved both him and his Kingdom in such troubles as he little expected. Pietro Fregoso was at that time Doge of Genoa, and being afraid he should not be able to cope with the King, resolved to give up what he found he could no longer hold himself, to some other Prince that was able to defend him from his enemies, and perhaps might one time or other make him a proper recompence for it. For this purpose, he dispatched Ambassadors to Charles VII. King of France, with an offer of the State of Genoa: which Charles readily accepted of, and sent King Regnier's Son John of Anjou (who had left Florence not long before and was gone back to France) to take

punishment in this world. The Jesuits, and other religious Orders, according as they are touched, never fail amongst the rest of their wiles, to brand such a one with a name that will be sure to stick close to him. A fearful outcry is raised of Atheist, Infidel, Heretic, mad dog, &c.

"Cape saxa manu, cape robora, Pastor,"

And then, blessed is the Zealot that takes up a stick or a stone, and knocks out his brains. It is well other Churches have more charity and moderation.

poſſeſſion of that City: as he thought nobody more proper to govern it, than a perſon who was ſo well acquainted with the cuſtoms and genius of the Italians, and might at the ſame time have an opportunity of proſecuting his claim to the Kingdom of Naples, of which his father Regnier had been deprived by King Alphonſo. John of Anjou therefore immediately repaired to Genoa, where he was received like a Prince, and inveſted with the whole power both of the City and the State.

Alphonſo was not a little galled at this circumſtance, perceiving he had drawn an enemy upon his back that was much too powerful for him: however he boldly purſued his undertaking, and had already brought his fleet to Porto-fino, near Villa Marina, when he ſuddenly fell ſick and died *. By his death John of Anjou and the Genoeſe were freed from the apprehenſions of war: and Ferrando †, who ſucceeded his father Alphonſo in the Kingdom of Naples, ſeeing he had now ſo potent a rival in Italy, began to grow very doubtful of the fidelity of his Nobility: many of whom being fond of change, he thought would ſide with the French. He was likewiſe afraid of the Pope, whoſe ambition he was no ſtranger to, and imagined it would naturally prompt him to make ſome attempt to wreſt his Kingdom from him, before he was thoroughly ſettled in his throne. His only hopes were in the Duke of Milan, who was no leſs

* This Prince, ſurnamed the Wiſe and Magnanimous, was a very great patron, and encourager of literature and learned men. Amongſt many other inſtances of his particular regard to them and their memory, it is ſaid, that at the ſiege of Gaieta, when he was told, there were none of the large ſtones left, with which they uſed to load the mortars, nor any to be found, except at a Country Seat, which, according to an old tradition, had belonged to Cicero, he anſwered, "that he choſe rather to have his artillery uſeleſs, than to ſpoil what had been the property of ſo great a man." He uſed always to carry Cæſar's Commentaries with him in his voyages and journies, and never paſſed a day without reading ſome part of them, with great attention. His device was an open Book. Anton. Panormit. de dict. & fact. Alphonſi, l. ii. Num. 12.

† Or Ferdinand I. natural ſon of Alphonſo.

anxi-

anxious than himſelf for the preſervation of that Kingdom; apprehending that if the French ſhould make themſelves maſters of it, their next attempt would be upon his dominions, which he knew they looked upon as of right belonging to them *. The Duke therefore, immediately after the death of King Alphonſo, not only ſent ſuccours to Ferdinand to aſſiſt and give him reputation at that time, but wrote a letter to him in which he exhorted him to take courage, and promiſed that he would never abandon him in any circumſtances.

After Alphonſo was dead, the Pope deſigned to have given the Kingdom of Naples to his own Nephew Pietro Ludovico Borgia: and to ſet ſo good a face upon the matter as might induce the reſt of the Italian Princes to acquieſce in it, he gave out that it was only his intention to reduce the Kingdom to its former obedience to the Church; in which caſe, he ſhould ſecure ſuch territories to the Duke of Milan as were at that time in his poſſeſſion, or had ever belonged to him there; and therefore hoped he would not ſend any ſuccours to the aſſiſtance of Ferdinand. But in the midſt of theſe new projects and preparations his Holineſs died, and was ſucceeded in the Papacy by Æneas Piccolomini, a Sieneſe by birth, who took the name of Pius II. † This Pontif, whoſe

* The Duke of Orleans having married a Princeſs of the Houſe of Viſconti, who became entitled to the Duchy of Milan, upon the failure of a male heir.

† This was the famous Æneas Sylvius, who, at the age of twenty-ſix, attended Dominico Capranico, Cardinal of Fermo, as his Secretary to the Council of Baſil. He afterwards ſerved ſeveral other Prelates in the ſame capacity, particularly Cardinal Albergoti, who ſent him into Scotland, to mediate a peace betwixt the Engliſh and the Scots. After his return, the ſame council honoured him with the Charges of Referendary, Abbreviator, Chancellor, General Agent, and ſent him ſeveral Times to Straſbourg, Frankfort, Conſtance, Savoy, amongſt the Griſons, and conferred upon him the Provoſtſhip of the Collegiate Church of St. Lorenzo in Milan. At that time he compoſed thoſe pieces in favour of the Council of Baſil, againſt Eugenius IV. in particular, and the Papal uſurpations and pretenſions in general; for which he afterwards made an apology to that Pontif,

chief

chief ſtudy was to promote the common good of Chriſtendom, and maintain the reſpect due to the

and aſked his pardon, who not only forgave him, but made him his ſecretary. After he was exalted to the Pontificate, he likewiſe retracted them in a Bull, dated April 26, 1463, which is prefixed to the Collection of his Works, and may be ſeen in Father Labbè's Collection of Councils, tom. xiii. p. 1407. It may not be unentertaining, perhaps, to ſee in what manner he apologizes for his former conduct, and how much his ſentiments were altered with his circumſtances. He excuſes himſelf for having written thoſe pieces when he was young, and incapable of forming a right judgment of things. He owns, that he had been guilty of an error, and deſires the Univerſity of Cologne, to which he addreſſes his Bull, not to regard what he had ſaid in favour of the Council of Baſil, but to condemn Æneas Sylvius, and to follow the ſentiments of Pius II. "We are men, ſays he, and have erred as men. We do not deny that many things, which we have ſaid, or written, may juſtly be condemned. We have been ſeduced like Paul, and perſecuted the Church of God through ignorance. We now follow St. Auſtin's example, who having ſuffered ſeveral erroneous ſentiments to eſcape him in his writings, afterwards retracted them. We do juſt the ſame thing; we ingenuouſly confeſs our ignorance, being apprehenſive leſt what we have written in our youth, ſhould occaſion ſome error, which may prejudice the Holy See. For if it is ſuitable to any perſon's character, to maintain the eminence and glory of the firſt throne of the Church, it is certainly ſo to us, whom the merciful God, of his infinite goodneſs only, hath raiſed to the dignity of Vice-gerent of Chriſt, without any merit on our part. Upon all theſe conſiderations, we exhort and adviſe you in the Lord, not to pay any regard to thoſe writings, which in any wiſe injure the authority of the Apoſtolic See, or aſſert opinions that the Holy Romiſh Church does not receive. If you find any thing contrary to this in our Dialogues, or Letters, or in any other of our works, deſpiſe ſuch notions, reject them, follow what we now maintain; believe what we aſſert now we are in years, rather than what I ſaid when I was young; regard a Pope rather than a private man; in ſhort, reject Æneas Sylvius, and receive Pius II. *Nec privatum hominem pluris facite quam ſummum Pontificem; Æneam rejicite, Pium accipite.* That heatheniſh name was given me by my parents at my birth; but this Chriſtian name we aſſumed, when we were raiſed to the Apoſtolical Character: *Illud gentile nomen parentes indidere naſcenti; hoc Chriſtianum in Apoſtolatu ſuſcepimus.* And ſince it might be objected, that his Dignity was the only reaſon of his changing his opinion, he anſwers that, by giving a ſhort account of his life and actions, and of the Council of Baſil, to which he went in the year 1431, when he was very young, without experience, and, as he ſays, "like a bird juſt out of its neſt."

After he had filled many other great preferments, and diſcharged ſeveral embaſſies and negotiations, with much applauſe and reputation, he was made a Cardinal by Calixtus III. whom he ſucceeded in the Papal Chair, in the year 1438, and reigned ſix years within three days. Platina ſays, he was not only the beſt, but one of the moſt learned Pontifs that had worn the Tiara for many ages before

Church

Church, laying aſide all private intereſts and paſſions, crowned Ferdinand King of Naples at the ſollicitation of the Duke of Milan; thinking it would be more eaſy to compoſe all differences in Italy by confirming one that was already in poſſeſſion, than either by favouring the French in their pretenſions to that Kingdom, or attempting to ſeize upon it himſelf, as his predeceſſor had deſigned. Ferdinand, in return for ſo great a favour, not only gave his natural daughter in marriage to the Pope's Nephew Antonio, with the principality of Melfi for her dower, but likewiſe reſtored Benevento and Terracina to the Church. After which, the tranquillity of Italy ſeemed to be perfectly ſettled, and the Pope was uſing his utmoſt endeavours, as Calixtus the laſt Pontif had done before him, to unite all Chriſtian Princes in a league againſt the Turk; when ſome animoſities, which broke out betwixt the Fregoſi and John of Anjou, the new Governor of Genoa, gave birth to freſh wars, and ſuch as were of much more importance than any that had yet happened.

him. His works are very numerous. A Catalogue of them may be ſeen in Mr. Henry Wharton's Appendix to Dr. Cave's Hiſtoria Literarie, and in the General Dictionary, vol. i. p. 295. Among them, there is a remarkable letter (which is the fifteenth in the firſt book of his Epiſtles, and tranſlated in the General Dictionary, vol. i. p. 290) wherein he gives his own father an account of an amour that he had with an Engliſh Lady, when he was Ambaſſadour at Straſbourg, and of the fruits of it. Upon which, Mr. Wharton obſerves, in the work above cited, "that he is ſo far from lamenting his crime, that he even boaſts of it there." Indeed it is written with an air of much gaiety.—He likewiſe wrote another very extraordinary letter to Mahomet II. which, as Mr. Bayle ſays, has cut out ſufficient work for dealers in controverſy, and occaſioned a very warm diſpute betwixt the famous du Pleſſis Mornai and Coeffeteau, the particulars of which may be found under the article Mahomet II. Gen. Dict. vol. vii. p. 352. Where the reader will ſee upon what *pious* motives this *great and good* Pontif perſuaded the Sultan to turn Chriſtian.—Olearius ſays, that he regretted three things at his death: 1ſt, that he had written, The Hiſtory of two Lovers, Euryalus and Lucretia: 2. That he had canonized Catharine of Siena, who had been miſtreſs to one of his Predeceſſors. 3. That he had excited the Chriſtian Princes to a war with the Turk. Bibliothec. Scriptor. Eccleſ. tom. ii. p. 28. The two firſt articles ſeem probable; the laſt does not, and is directly contrary to what is ſaid of him by all other writers, who affirm, that he had that expedition very much at heart to the laſt breath of his life.

Pietro

Pietro Fregoſo was then at a Caſtle belonging to him upon the Sea Coaſt, whither he had retired in great diſguſt, that he and his family had not been rewarded according to their merits by John of Anjou; as they had been the principal inſtruments in making him Lord of Genoa. So that at laſt they came to an open quarrel; at which, Ferdinand was not a little pleaſed, and imagining that nothing could more effectually conduce to his eſtabliſhment in the Kingdom of Naples, he ſent him ſupplies both of men and money, in hopes that he ſhould be able by ſuch means to drive his competitor entirely out of theſe parts. But John having intelligence of this, immediately ſent into France for ſuccours to make head againſt his adverſary, who was grown ſo formidable by the reinforcements he had received, that John did not think proper to face him at that time, but kept cloſe within the walls of the City in order to ſecure that; which yet he could not do effectually. For Pietro having found means to enter it privately one night, ſeized upon ſome of the ſtrong poſts: but at the return of day light, being engaged by John's forces, he was killed himſelf, and all his men either taken priſoners or ſlain upon the ſpot.

Elated with this advantage, John now determined to make a deſcent upon the Kingdom of Naples: for which purpoſe he left Genoa in October 1459 with
1459 a powerful fleet, and ſteering his courſe directly thither he came to an anchor at Baia, * and from thence proceeded to Seſſa, where he was received by the

* This City was famous for its hot baths and elegant buildings in the time of the ancient Romans; and here they ſtill ſhew the ruins of certain edifices, which they call the palaces of Cæſar, Pompey, Cicero, and other great men, who uſed to reſort thither. Horace tells us, it was the moſt delightful place upon earth.

"Nullus in orbe locus, Baiis prælucet amœnis."

The little plot of ground, called the Elyſian Fields, ſo much celebrated by the Poets, lies about a mile from this place, but has not much to recommend or make it admired at preſent. It is parted from Puteoli by an arm of the Sea about two or three miles broad, over which the Emperor Caligula built a bridge. Suet. Tacit.

Duke

Duke of that place; and ſoon after his arrival, the Prince of Taranto, the people of Aquila, and many other Princes and Cities declared for him: ſo that the whole Kingdom was in a manner loſt. Ferdinand ſeeing this, had recourſe to the Pope and the Duke of Milan for aſſiſtance, and that he might have the fewer enemies to deal with, he came to an accommodation with Giſmodo Malateſta; at which, Giacopo Piccinino (who was an avowed enemy to Malateſta) took ſuch offence that he preſently quitted the ſervice of Ferdinand, and went over to the French. He likewiſe endeavoured to engage Frederic Lord of Urbino in his intereſts, by a conſiderable ſubſidy; and having aſſembled a pretty good army (for thoſe times) with as much expedition as poſſible; he advanced to meet the enemy: but coming to an engagement on the banks of the Sarni, he was totally routed, and moſt of his principal officers taken priſoners.

After this defeat, all the reſt of the towns revolted to John of Anjou, except Naples itſelf and ſome few other places, which ſtill adhered to Ferdinand. Piccinino adviſed John to purſue his victory and march directly to Naples; for when that was reduced, he ſaid, the whole Kingdom would immediately drop into his hands: but he determined, on the contrary, to ſtrip his competitor entirely of what little he had then left in thoſe parts, before he attacked the Capital; out of a perſuaſion, that when he had cut off all ſupplies from the Country, he ſhould eaſily make himſelf maſter of the City: not conſidering that the members follow the motions of the head more naturally, than the head is directed by thoſe of the members. This reſolution, however, proved fatal to his deſigns, and overſet the whole expedition. For Ferdinand after his defeat had retired into Naples, where he received great numbers of his ſubjects who had been driven out of their poſſeſſions; and having raiſed ſome money amongſt the Citizens there by gentle and perſuaſive means, he

by

by degrees formed a little army. He likewise solicited the Pope and the Duke of Milan for fresh succours: each of whom sent him speedier and much more effectual supplies than they had done before; as they both began to be under very great apprehensions that the Kingdom of Naples would be utterly lost. Strengthened by these reinforcements Ferdinand marched out of Naples, and having retaken several of the towns which the enemy had seized upon, began in some measure to recover his credit and interest.

But whilst the war was thus carried on with various success on both sides in the Kingdom of Naples, an event happened which robbed John of Anjou of all his glory, and made him despair of any further success in that enterprize. The Genoese being thoroughly sick of the avarice and insolence of the French, at last took up arms against their deputy-governor, and forced him to fly for refuge into the Citadel: and in this insurrection both the Fregosi and Adorni concurring, were assisted with men and money by the Duke of Milan in their endeavours to recover and maintain their liberties. So that King Regnier, who soon after came thither to the relief of his Son with a body of forces on board some transports, in hopes of preserving Genoa, as the Citadel still held out for him, was routed almost as soon as he had landed his men, and forced to return with great disgrace into Provence.

When the news of this overthrow arrived in the Kingdom of Naples, John was not a little shocked at it: yet he did not abandon his undertaking, but carried on the war for some time, chiefly by the support of such of the Nobility as had revolted from Ferdinand and despaired of ever making their peace with him. At last, however, after many other occurrences, the two armies came to a general engagement near Troia in the year 1463, in which John was defeated. But he was not so much hurt by this overthrow, as by the defection of Giacopo Piccinino,

cinino, who went back again ſoon after into Ferdinand's ſervice: ſo that being now in a manner diſarmed, he retired into * Iſtria, and from thence into France. This war continued four years, and during the courſe of it, John of Anjou more than once loſt that by negligence and ſupineneſs, which had been honourably gained by the valour of his Soldiers.

The Florentines had not publickly taken either ſide in theſe diſputes; and when they were importuned by Ambaſſadors ſent from John King of Aragon (who was lately called to the government of that Kingdom, upon the death of King Alphonſo) to ſuccour his Nephew Ferdinand, as they were obliged to do by their late treaty with his Father Alphonſo, they made anſwer, "that they had no connection with Ferdinand, and did not think themſelves under any obligation to aſſiſt the Son in a war which his Father had commenced, and as it was begun without their advice or concurrence, he might either continue or end it as he liked beſt, ſince he had nothing to expect from them." Upon which, the Ambaſſadors having charged them, in the name of their Maſter, with a breach of the treaty, and declared that he would expect to be indemnified by them for any future loſſes he might ſuſtain thereby, immediately left the City with much indignation and reſentment. But notwithſtanding the Florentines had not embroiled themſelves in theſe wars abroad, they were far from enjoying tranquillity at home, as ſhall be related more at large in the next book.

* All the Italian Copies, that I have ſeen, ſay Iſtria; but it is a miſtake: for it was not Iſtria that he retired to, but Iſchia, a little Iſland in the Neapolitan Sea, fifteen miles Weſt of the City of Naples.

END OF THE SIXTH BOOK.